



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

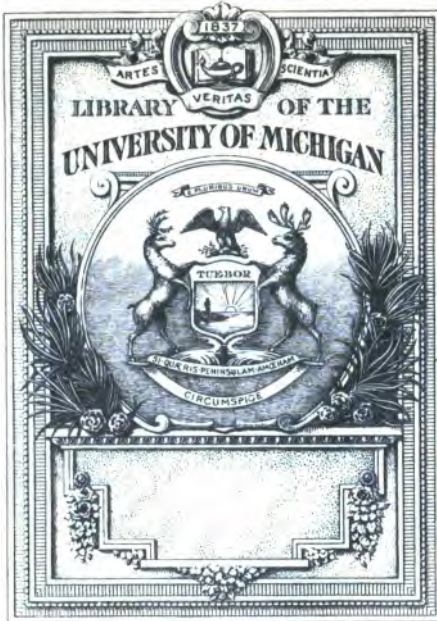
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



E TAYLOR,  
KING OF  
FRSKINE  
DEATH.  
HYSICAL  
APPARI-  
CTION AND  
8vo., 21s.  
SYDNEY  
8s. .  
EARL OF  
vols., 8vo.,  
A. THIERS.  
L. 5 vols.,  
ACCOUNT  
vols., 8vo.,

- THE HISTORY OF ARTHUR AND GUINEVER, DAUGHTER OF CAVALIER AND  
LEON. By PROSPER MERIMEE. 2 vols., post 8vo., 16s.  
MEMOIRS AND ESSAYS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ART, LITERATURE,  
AND SOCIAL MORALS. By MRS. JAMESON. 1 vol., post 8vo., 10s. 6d.  
THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA  
THE CATHOLIC OF SPAIN. By W. H. PRESCOTT. Sixth Edition. 3 vols.,  
crown 8vo., 18s.; or in 3 vols., 8vo., 42s.  
HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO, WITH THE LIFE OF THE  
CONQUEROR, HERNANDO CORTES. By W. H. PRESCOTT. Fifth Edition. 3 vols.,  
crown 8vo., 18s.; or in 2 vols., 8vo., 32s.  
BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY ESSAYS. By W. H. PRESCOTT.  
8vo., 14s.  
HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF PERU. By W. H. PRESCOTT.  
Fourth Edition. 3 vols., crown 8vo., 18s.; or in 2 vols., 8vo., 32s.  
MEMOIRS OF PRINCE RUPERT AND THE CAVALIERS. By  
ELIOT WARBURTON. Numerous fine Portraits. 3 vols., 8vo., 42s.  
THE CONQUEST OF CANADA. By the Author of "Hochelaga." 2  
vols., 8vo., 28s.  
THE FAIRFAX CORRESPONDENCE. By ROBERT BELL. 4 vols.,  
8vo., 60s.  
A HISTORY OF THE JESUITS, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR  
SOCIETY. By ANDREW STEINMETZ. 3 vols., 8vo., 45s.  
LOUIS XIV., AND THE COURT OF FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH  
CENTURY. By Miss JULIA PARDOE. Third Edition. 3 vols., 8vo., 42s.

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MEMOIRS OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI. AND MARY. By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER. 2 vols., 8vo., 24s.

NAVAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN. WITH A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY TO THE PRESENT TIME. By W. JAMES. 6 vols., 8vo., 54s.

MEMOIRS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD. By HORATIO, LORD ORFORD. Edited, with Notes, by Sir DENIS LE MARCHANT, Bart. 4 vols., 8vo., 56s.

BENTLEY'S COLLECTIVE EDITION OF THE LETTERS OF HORACE WALPOLE. 6 vols., 63s.

LETTERS TO SIR HORACE MANN. By HORACE WALPOLE. Second Series. 4 vols., 8vo., 56s.

CHARACTERISTIC SKETCHES OF ENGLISH SOCIETY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE, COMPRISED IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO THE COUNTESS OF OSSORY. By HORACE WALPOLE. Edited by the Right Hon. R. VERNON SMITH, M.P. 2 vols., 8vo., 30s.

MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF THE STUARTS. By J. HENEAGE JESSE. 4 vols., 8vo., 56s.

MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF ENGLAND UNDER THE HOUSES OF NASSAU AND HANOVER. By J. HENEAGE JESSE. 3 vols., 8vo., 42s.

MEMOIRS OF THE CHEVALIER AND PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD. By J. HENEAGE JESSE. 2 vols., 8vo., 28s.

MEMOIRS OF EXTRAORDINARY POPULAR DELUSIONS. By CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D. 3 vols., 8vo., 42s.

MEMOIRS OF KING HENRY V. By J. E. TYLER, B.D. 2 vols., 8vo.,

ISTORY OF HIS OWN TIME; COMPRISING MEMOIRS OF THE ARTS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES I. By Dr. GOODMAN, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER. Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A. 2 vols., 8vo., 18s.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY IN A NEW SERIES OF LETTERS; NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS. By Sir HENRY ELLIS. 4 vols., post 8vo., 24s.

MEMOIRS OF THE TWO REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND IN 1715 AND 1745; OR THE ADHERENTS OF THE STUARTS. By MRS. THOMSON. 3 vols., 8vo., 42s.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE KINGDOM OF CAUBUL AND ITS DEPENDENCIES IN PERSIA, TARTARY, AND INDIA. By the Right Honourable MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE. 2 vols., 8vo., 28s.

A CENTURY OF CARICATURES; OR, ENGLAND UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER. By THOMAS WRIGHT. 2 vols., 8vo., 30s.

SOCIAL LIFE IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. By Miss BERRY. 2 vols., small 8vo., 21s.

DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES HARRIS, FIRST EARL OF MALMESBURY. Edited by his Grandson. 4 vols., 8vo., 60s.

MEMOIRS OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON; TO WHICH ARE NOW ADDED A HISTORY OF THE HUNDRED DAYS, OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO, AND OF NAPOLEON'S EXILE AND DEATH AT ST. HELENA. By M. BOURRIENNE. Numerous Portraits. 4 vols., 8vo., 30s.

THE LIFE AND REMAINS OF THEODORE HOOK. By the Rev. R. D. BARHAM. Second Edition. 2 vols., post 8vo., 21s.

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

DB  
93!  
B3c

4/11

max  
22

Nov. 12. 13

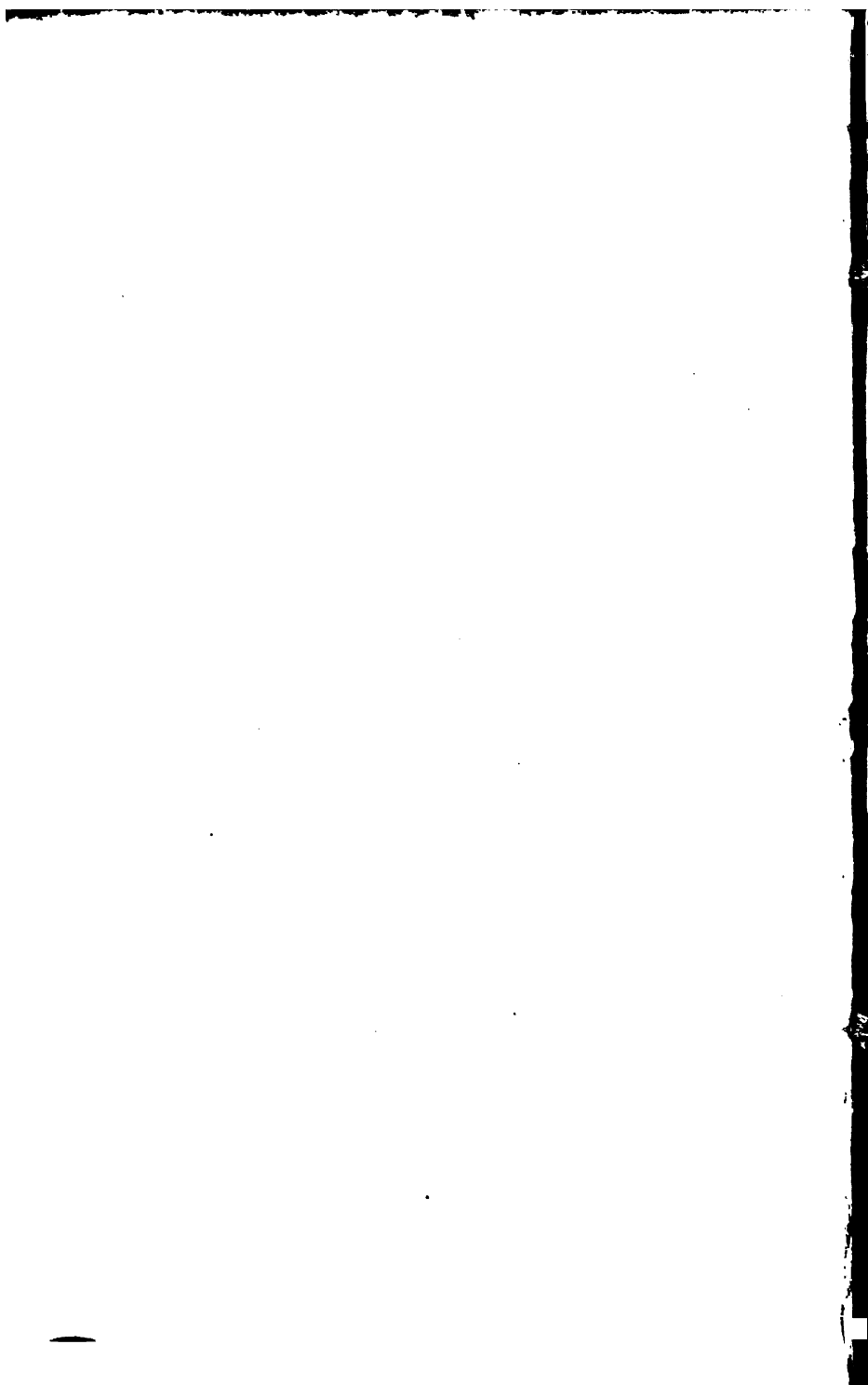




PERSONAL ADVENTURES  
DURING  
THE LATE WAR  
OF INDEPENDENCE IN HUNGARY.

---

VOL. I.







*J. Brown, sc.*

LOUIS KOSOVITZ.

London Richard Bentley, 1840.

PERSONAL ADVENTURES

DURING

THE LATE WAR

OF INDEPENDENCE IN HUNGARY.

COMPRISING

AN ACCOUNT OF HER MISSIONS  
UNDER THE ORDERS OF KOSSUTH TO THE  
DIFFERENT POSTS OF THE HUNGARIAN ARMY DURING  
THE CONTEST.

BY

*Wilhelmina,*  
THE BARONESS VON BECK.

=

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON :

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1850.



**LONDON :**

**Printed by Schulze and Co., 13, Poland Street.**

© 9-11-24 S.M.

TO  
LORD DUDLEY COUTTS STUART, M.P.,

THE FRIEND OF POLAND,  
THE CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED OF ALL NATIONS,  
AND THE ENLIGHTENED ADVOCATE OF  
FREEDOM IN HIS OWN,  
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED, AS A TRIBUTE,

HOWEVER SLIGHT,  
OF THE PROFOUND RESPECT IN WHICH HE IS HELD BY

THE AUTHOR.

REC 5-25-34 HQW





Librarian  
Sotheman  
4-3-24  
9806  
2 vols.

## PREFACE.

---

THE following pages contain a faithful record of my own Personal Adventures and Experience, during the recent War of Freedom in Hungary.

Although a woman, I have taken the most ardent interest in the contest, having enjoyed the confidence of the noble and heroic men who took the lead in that national movement. I have stood by their side in moments the most exciting; have heard their deliberations; have witnessed their actions; and now that the struggle has been terminated by treason, I feel it to be a sacred duty to impart to the public my own personal knowledge, both of the men and of the object which they strove to accomplish.

I shall lay an impartial statement before the reader, and thus at least help to throw some light upon a most important epoch in the history of my native land: an epoch over which, notwith-

standing all that has been written concerning it, much obscurity still hangs.

Neither female vanity, nor a desire for notoriety, has induced me to become an author: it was to satisfy a heartfelt impulse, which warns me not to neglect the discharge of a solemn obligation. The reader may, therefore, take up this narrative in perfect good faith. It will neither introduce him into the *salons* of diplomacy, nor into scenes of political intrigue; but it will exhibit to him the life-and-death struggle on the battle-field; it will bespeak his earnest contemplation of miseries and privations, of ignominy and death, endured by noble-hearted men, for freedom and their fatherland.

WILHELMINA, BARONESS VON BECK.

LONDON,  
OCTOBER, 1850.

CONTENTS  
OF THE  
FIRST VOLUME.

---

CHAPTER I.

Visit to Vienna with the Hungarian Deputation—Commencement of the Hungarian war—Its motives—Character of Windischgrätz—Circumstances which led me to devote myself to the Hungarian cause—First mission from the Liberals of Vienna—Journey to Wagram—Schlosshof—The Emperor at Presburg—Commencement of the quarrel with the Croats—Fomented by the Camarilla—Austrian policy towards Hungary—Insolence of Jellachich to the Palatine—Difficulty of crossing the frontiers—Unsuccessful attempt to cross the March at Schlosshof—Fresh disappointment at Marchoff—Kind offer of a peasant woman—Austrian camp at Marchegg—Admiration of the peasantry for Kossuth—Again unsuccessful in my attempts to cross the river at Angern—Darnkrat—The good Duke of Coburg—Remarkable dream—Return to Marchegg—I succeed in crossing the river in the disguise of a fisherman . . . 1

CHAPTER II.

A generous landlord—Journey to Neudorf—A cowardly Commissioner—I receive assistance from a hussar officer—A camp

welcome—Valley of the Calvarienberg—Arrival at Presburg—  
First interview with Csányi—Introduction to Lazar and Görgey  
—Mission from Görgey to Simonich's position—Visit to my  
Hungarian estate—Pastor Hurban—Return from Simonich's  
camp—Brilliant conduct of our hussars at Parendorf—Mis-  
sion to Vienna from Görgey, Motoschitzky, and Kossuth—  
Arrival at Vienna—Its appearance—Visit to Schönbrunn—In-  
terview with Windischgrätz and Jellachich—Return to Pres-  
burg—Proclamation of Francis Joseph—Its falsehoods. . . 26

## CHAPTER III.

Visit to Hampfen—An Austrian surprise party surprised—Mis-  
sion from Kossuth to the Diet at Kremsier—Journey to Tyr-  
nau and Neustadt—A patriotic Jewish family—Difficulty of  
crossing the Austrian lines—Arrival at Strani within the lines  
—Kremsier—Old acquaintances from Vienna—Visit to Olmütz  
—Return to Strani—Cross the Austrian lines without difficulty  
—Arrival at Neustadt—Banquet interrupted—Capture of Tyr-  
nau by the Austrians—Reception by Guyon—His character—  
Attack upon a honved detachment, without officers, repulsed—  
Arrival at Presburg—Voyage to Komorn—Visit to Presburg  
—Windischgrätz at Presburg. . . . . 44

## CHAPTER IV.

Alarming recognition—Precipitate departure from Presburg—  
Dangerous mission to Tyrnau—Kindness of a Magyar Mayor—  
Passage of the Waag—Garrison of Tyrnau—Return to Komorn  
—Advice to General Lazar respecting Leopoldstadt—Military  
murder of Menyjantzky—Invitation to Raab—Meeting with  
Baron Thunes—Letter from Kossuth—Proposed mission to  
Gallicia—Prince Wovonetzky—Dinner at Görgey's—First in-  
terview with Kossuth . . . . . 60

## CHAPTER V.

Expedition to ascertain the strength of the Austrians near Raab—  
 Journey to Almatz as a sutler—Rencontre with a troop of  
 Seressaners—A plundered inn—Another Austrian surprise de-  
 feated—A narrow escape—Night adventure with a party of  
 Uhlans at Ikman—Opinions of a Uhlan Corporal on national  
 affairs—And on military—Visit to the Austrian camp at Murr  
 —The battle of Murr—Appearance of the battle from Ikman  
 —Defeat of the Hungarians—Character of the hussars and  
 honveds under defeat . . . . . 78

## CHAPTER VI.

I am mistaken for an Austrian spy at Dotis—Mystification of the  
 Commandant and Mayor—I am sent to head-quarters under an  
 escort—Surprise of Csányi at seeing me in disguise—My recep-  
 tion by the officers—Journey with Csányi and Danielis in  
 peasants' costume—Mission from Görgey to Kossuth—Görgey's  
 able plan for the conduct of the war—Arrival at Pesth on the  
 last night of the year—Appearance of Pesth—Interview with  
 Kossuth—Hasty departure of the Government from Pesth to  
 Debreczin—Unfortunate separation of Csányi from Görgey, and  
 its cause—A public reception—General Lazar goes over to the  
 Austrians—His reception . . . . . 96

## CHAPTER VII.

Opinions of the Hungarian Magnates concerning an arrangement  
 with Austria—Windischgrätz's conduct at Pesth—He robs the  
 Bank—Preparations for my Gallician mission—I assume the  
 character of an actress—Journey to Szigeth—Cause of the  
 defeat at Kaschau—Distress of Meszaros—I cross the Gallician  
 frontier alone—The Lemberg manager—Means taken to pre-

vent the Poles from reaching Hungary—Arrival at Cracow—Another manager—Success of my mission to the Poles—Return to Szigeth—Message from Kossuth—Address to a recruiting party—Arrival at Debreczin—Patriotism of Debreczin—Interview with Kossuth—Kossuth proposes a mission in search of Görgey—His personal influence . . . . . 112

## CHAPTER VIII.

Visit from Field-Marshal Kiss—Destruction of his property by the Croats—My maid—Dinner at Field-Marshal Kiss's—Instructions from Kossuth respecting my mission to Görgey—Departure from Debreczin, and arrival at Leck—Interview with Dembinski—Arrival at Tokay—Klapka's head-quarters—Görgey's plan for attacking Schlick frustrated by Dembinski—Klapka and Schlick—Battle of Tokay—Bad spirit in the county of Saross—Austrian misrepresentations of Hungary—Schlick tampers with the Saross Justices of Peace—Base conduct of this county—Austrian bombast—Reflections on the difference between the lie of an individual, and the lie of a government—Character of Schlick . . . . . 131

## CHAPTER IX.

I pass through Saross, and arrive at Eperies—True Magyar spirit of Eperies—Proceed to Branisko in search of Görgey—View of Guyon's splendid battle near Branisko—Guyon promoted—Return to Eperies—Joy at Guyon's victory—Görgey's celebrated retreat through the mountains—Interview with Görgey—His reception of the news of Dembinski's appointment to the chief command—Dembinski's incapacity—Commencement of Görgey's defection—His insubordinate disposition—Able officers of his staff—Failure of a mission to Germany—Motoschitzky superseded by Danielis—Görgey's message to Kossuth . . . . . 146

## CHAPTER X.

Departure from Eperies—Reprimand to the Saross Justices—  
 Arrival at Ujhely—Break-down in the mountains—Gallant conduct of the Hungarians at Hidas Némedi—Interview with Klapka—Return to the seat of Government at Debreczin—Interview with Kossuth—Mission to Dembinski's head-quarters—Visit to Kaschau—Patriotism of the citizens of Kaschau—Görgey's ball—Different treatment of prisoners of war by the Hungarians and Austrians—Review of Görgey's corps . 161

## CHAPTER XI.

Dinner at the Baroness Lutzinsky's—Departure from Kaschau—Meeting with a party of soldiers—Dembinski fixes his headquarters at St. Peter's—Cordial reception of Görgey's corps by the inhabitants of Miskolcz—Discontent with Dembinski—Its causes—His appointment a mistake—Bem—Görgey at Miskolcz—Motoschitzky superseded—Madame Görgey's opinions of camp-life—Görgey's complaint of Dembinski's inactivity. 178

## CHAPTER XII.

Danielis's advice respecting the discontent in the army—Visit to St. Peter's—Discontent of Dembinski's own officers—Interview with Dembinski—Return to Miskolcz—Lutzinsky's message to Kossuth—Remonstrance with Görgey—I pledge myself to bring Kossuth to the army—Departure for Debreczin—Public reception at a village on the route—An old Magyar—Violent contrasts in my experience—Relief of Austrian prisoners of war—Their gratitude—Impolicy of the Austrians—Cruelty to their prisoners . . . . . 194

## CHAPTER XIII.

Arrival at Debreczin, and interview with Kossuth—Advice to him to visit the army—He adopts it—Residence at Debreczin—Dinner at Field-Marshal Kiss's—Unaccountable depression of mind—Intelligence of the battle of Kapolna—Görgey's tardiness—Murderous conflict at Verpelet—A Hungarian amazon—Kossuth's visit to the graves of those who had fallen at Kapolna—His prayer—Kossuth's return to Debreczin—Interview with him—Leisure at Debreczin—State of that town—Narrow escape of General Perczel from the Austrians—His character as a General—Visit from Meszaros . . . 212

## CHAPTER XIV.

Important mission from Kossuth—Preparations for departure—Arrival of Görgey and Danielis at Debreczin—Görgey's disposition—His hatred of Kossuth—Its origin and progress—Estimate of his motives—His meeting with Kossuth—Visit from Görgey and Danielis—Departure from Debreczin and arrival at Tokay—Madame Görgey—Cool reception of Görgey at Miskolcz—Failure of the design to march upon Pesth—Interview with General Vetter—Another break-down—Entrance into Pesth in disguise . . . . . 230

## CHAPTER XV.

State of Pesth during the Austrian occupation—Perilous lodgings—Disappointment of Jellachich in love—His revenge—Conduct of Windischgrätz in Pesth—Dangerous recognition—Austrian opinion of Vetter—I am conducted over the fortress of Buda—Austrian preparations for the defence of Buda and



## CONTENTS.

xv

Pesth—I suggest a plan of military operations—Departure for Vienna—Company on board a steamer—Presburg—Vienna—Official and authoritative sanction of falsehood by the Camarilla—Dr. and Madame Poltenberg—Opinions of the Liberals of Vienna—Bombastic bulletins of the Austrians, and their contradiction . . . . . 250

## CHAPTER XVI.

Preparations for my German mission—Arrival at Prague—Indications of popular feeling in that city—Arrival at Dresden—Appearance of the city—Arrival at Leipsig—Visit to Madame Blum—Transactions at Breslau—Intelligence of the Hungarian victory at Waitzen—Return to Vienna—Windischgrätz recalled—Banquet of the Viennese Liberals—Preparations for returning to Hungary—Voyage in company with Welden, the Austrian Field-Marshal—A black-yellow—Arrival at Pesth . 267

## CHAPTER XVII.

I am compelled to remain in Pesth—The Austrians prepare to defend Buda—Burning of the floating-bridge between Buda and Pesth—Arrival of Hungarian troops in Pesth—Joy of the inhabitants—Visit to Aulich's head-quarters—Declaration of independence—Its effects on the army—Entrance of Aulich's corps into Pesth—Proclamation to restrain the popular exultation—Visit to Colonel Kmeti's head-quarters—Kmeti's fearful surprise of the Austrians—Honours paid to the body of General Götz—Journey to Komorn—Meeting with my maid—Visit to General Damjanich—General Poltenberg—Pansclavism—Its decline—Increasing influence of Hungary—Guyon's adventures and daring before Komorn—Komorn during the siege—Görgey crosses the Danube, and attacks the Austrians . . . 281

the internal resources of the country. Never was any land more thoroughly exhausted by systematic oppression. The splendid natural advantages with which a benign Providence had so liberally endowed it, were looked upon with hatred and envy by its benighted rulers; they feared lest it should grow too strong for them, and therefore directed all their ingenuity to choke the springs of its industry; and to prevent the development of its commerce, it was determined that Hungary should become a kind of granary to Vienna, Bohemia, and Moravia, whose manufacturing population it was to supply with raw materials, and to pay double for the necessities it received in return. A system of revenue regulations was also established between Austria and Hungary, which prevented the transmission of any manufactures from the latter to the former, by a heavy prohibitive duty, and subjected all commercial transactions between the two countries to an oppressive taxation.

Whilst the Hungarians were thus prevented from extending their relations to neighbouring lands, it might have been expected that, in their own country at least, they would be allowed to exercise their energy and intelligence in promoting the national prosperity. Such was not the case. They were prohibited from making public roads, from establishing any means of communication between the

different parts of the country, and from regulating the traffic on their own rivers. The Hungarian youth were eager for instruction ; but there were no schools nor other means of education permitted in their country. In short, the design of Austria seemed to be, not merely to deprive the land of its nationality, but to extinguish every trace of its civilization, and to throw it back into the barbarism of the dark ages. The common refuge of all who complained of this intolerable oppression, was the Archduke Palatine, who promised everything, and performed—nothing ! That he was obstructed by the Government at Vienna, there can be no doubt, as the following occurrence will tend to prove. During an excursion which he made on board a steamer, on the Neusiedler Lake, in 1848, he approached the quarters of Jellachich, with whom he desired to have a personal interview.

As the water was too shallow to allow the steamer to come near the land, he sent one of his officers to request that Jellachich would therefore come on board ; but the latter, forgetful of the respect due to a Royal Prince, and sure of the support of the Camarilla, though standing on the shore at the time, had the insolence to reply, that if the Palatine wanted to see him, the Palatine must come to him. Shortly after this, the Archduke visited Vienna. He was coldly received at Court ; and prevented,

## 10 DIFFICULTY OF CROSSING THE FRONTIERS.

under various pretexts, from returning again to Hungary. Thus was the country deprived of its last hope of peaceable redress, and thrown upon its own resources. These general observations will prepare the reader for the clearer comprehension of the different phases of the national struggle. And having made this digression for that purpose, I shall now return to the affairs with which I was more directly concerned. My great object was now to cross the Hungarian frontier, which was jealously guarded by the Austrian troops. Once in my own country, the remainder of my journey would have been comparatively easy, but it was precisely to prevent such communications as I was the bearer of, that the Imperial Government had taken such minute precautions; and I felt, that were I discovered, my liberty, if not my life, would have been sacrificed to the remorseless hatred of Austria towards everything Hungarian. Schlosshof, the point of my departure on this adventurous attempt, lies close upon the Hungarian border. The river March flows by it, and is crossed by a single bridge, over which I resolved to make an effort to pass. It was guarded by a battery of six-pounders, and a section of the Nassau regiment, commanded by a Captain.

I approached the outposts with as careless an appearance as I could assume, and was imme-

diately arrested and conducted to the Commandant. He was a good-natured man, but proud of his authority, which he exhibited, by putting me to a severe examination as to the object of my attempt to cross the bridge. Having no passport, I gave him to understand that I was a poor woman, who had been stript of all means of living, and that I was going to seek an asylum with my relatives at Malaczka, and begged of him not to obstruct me in my journey. His reply was most discouraging. He said he was strictly charged not to allow any one to pass under any pretence whatever; and though he did not in the least doubt the account I gave of myself, he regretted he could make no exception in my favour, but must insist on my returning.

I was sorely disappointed at this, my first failure, and was about to leave the room, determined to seek some other means of crossing the river, when he called me back, and made the following proposal; I shall give it in his own words: "Since you assure me you are a poor woman, and that your only object is to seek out your relatives, in the hope of receiving assistance from them, I am ready to help you forward on your journey; and if you promise to follow my directions, you may earn a great deal of money. You must go into the Hungarian camp, and bring me intelligence of the

strength and position of the army. If your information on these points be satisfactory, you may depend upon being well rewarded."

This proposal took me by surprise. I was not prepared to tell a direct untruth, or else, by seeming to accept this mission, I might easily have accomplished my real object. I tried to evade it, therefore, and said: "If I were to promise what you ask, I could not possibly keep my word, for I have no knowledge of military affairs, and am entirely unacquainted with the district, so that any intelligence I could bring you would be of but little value."

I had ample opportunity, during the succeeding days, to regret my tenderness of conscience. The Captain, offended at my refusal, ordered me immediately to return whence I came. I went back to Schlosshof, resolved if possible to find some means of reaching the Hungarian side of the river. An old peasant, of whom I made some inquiries, recommended me to proceed to Marchoff, which lay about an hour's distance further down the river, where, he said, a passage might be easily obtained in one of the river boats. I thought this good advice, and immediately proceeded to Marchoff, where I arrived towards evening, but was not a little disconcerted to find the town occupied by another detachment of the very same regiment.

Again I was seized at the outposts, and examined ; but, having gained a little by my previous experience, I represented myself as an inhabitant of Schlosshof, and was allowed access to the town without further interruption.

I entered the first cottage I met with, and asked for a night's lodging. The woman of the house inquired whence I had come—a question in itself sufficiently simple—but broken down as I was with fatigue and anxiety, it recalled so many bitter memories that I could reply to it only with a flood of tears. When I had become a little calmer, I told her of my sufferings in Vienna, with which she appeared to be vividly interested. When I related to her the death of my husband, she exhibited the deepest sympathy, not merely in words, but by offering me her house and all that it contained, to use as my own as long as I thought proper.

When the curiosity of this kind-hearted and simple creature had been in some measure satisfied, she became communicative herself. She told me how her husband had been compelled to attend the Croatian troops, in order to assist in the transportation of their baggage. She was in a pitiable state of anxiety on his account, and on my attempting to reassure her, cried out : " Merciful Heaven ! I shall never see him alive again. He always

disliked these savage Croats. He will forget himself in some quarrel with them, and be stabbed, or shot, without a friend to assist him."

I tried to show her that these fears were exaggerated, and, after a little time succeeded in making her take a more hopeful view of matters. "Oh!" said she, "how glad my poor husband would have been to hear your account of Vienna. We have always been on the side of the brave Viennese; and now that they are conquered, I shudder to think of what they will have to suffer under the despotism of this tyrant."

These were the sentiments of a peasant woman; I give them as a specimen of the popular judgment on the recent proceedings in the Imperial capital. With such conversation, the time passed rapidly, and midnight approached. I felt overwhelmed with fatigue, and longed for a little rest. My hostess perceived it, and conducted me to a chamber furnished with a degree of elegance altogether surprising in such a house, although the peasantry in this part of the country take peculiar pride in having one state-chamber as well furnished as their means will permit, and which is always reserved for distinguished guests. It was, therefore, as a special mark of respect, placed at my service. I laid myself down to rest, and lightened my oppressed heart with tears. This is a source



of comfort and consolation which women always possess, even in their greatest sufferings, and the only one which even tyranny does not seek to dry up.

I awoke the next morning strengthened and animated by a night of refreshing slumber. My kind hostess was standing by my bedside, full of anxiety about me. When she saw my feet, which were severely wounded by my recent long journeys, she insisted upon my remaining in her house until I should be in a better condition to resume my pilgrimage; and it was only after the most solemn assurance of its necessity that she would consent to my departure.

Having settled this matter, she went out to inquire if I could obtain a boat to convey me to the other side of the river, and soon returned, bringing with her a fisherman belonging to the village. This man informed me that the whole river frontier was occupied by the military, and expressed his sorrow that, on that account, he could not attempt the passage. He advised me, however, to proceed to the Hainburg Ferry, where he said I could easily pass over without observation. Again my design was obstructed, but my determination was unaltered, and I prepared to follow the fisherman's advice. When my kind hostess saw that I was resolved to renew my attempts

in another place, she made me a proposal which showed what noble disinterestedness may be found in simple hearts, and how even the humblest classes know how to esteem those who suffer in the cause of freedom.

She began by remarking that she and her husband were now advanced in years, that they lived almost alone, having very few acquaintances; and having thus artlessly prepared the way, she asked me, in the most affectionate manner, to remain and live with them. I was not to perform any labour, except to superintend the workmen in the fields, I should not want for anything; and to all this she said her husband would cordially agree. I was deeply affected by the humanity and sterling kindness of this good woman, and declined her proposal as gently as I could. Her generosity was not exhausted, however, she insisted upon sending one of her men to accompany me, and upon taking leave pressed into my hand a few florins, which I could not prevail upon myself to wound her affectionate heart by refusing. I bade her adieu, feeling that I had parted from a rare and noble character, though a peasant.

At Hainburg I was as little successful as in my former attempts—Field-Marshal Jellachich had issued the strictest orders to guard all the passages, and had cut off all communication between the two

sides of the river. I now scarcely knew where to turn. I stood upon the banks of the Danube, and gazed with a sorrowful heart upon the distant shores of my native land, and the green hills which surrounded the beloved home which I was forbidden to approach. One of our war-steamers appeared at a distance, gliding proudly on the broad bosom of the river, an emblem of power and skill, which added to my sense of loneliness and helplessness.

I had now done everything in my power to fulfil the trust confided to me, and all had proved in vain; there remained, therefore, no alternative, save to return as I came: my prayers and entreaties were totally disregarded by the rude soldiers. I went back to my kind hostess at Marchoff, who took advantage of my fresh disappointment to urge her former offer upon me, and again I had much difficulty in declining it without giving her pain. Having taken leave of her a second time, I directed my steps to Marchegg, a small town, which lies at about four hours' distance from Schlosshof. Here I knew the railway crossed the river, and hoped I might obtain a passage; but here, also, I found the same ubiquitous Nassau regiment in possession of the bridge, which was commanded by a battery of artillery. I was seized as on former occasions, and strictly questioned; but having become wiser, or at least, more skilful in

baffling such inquiries, I told them I had come from Hoff, and was going to Marchegg. I was permitted to proceed, and met with no further difficulty on my way to that town.

I arrived there on the 8th of November, weary in mind and body, and almost despairing of being able to render any service to my oppressed country. The Austrian troops were encamped before the town, and presented a highly picturesque appearance as I approached them just at night-fall. The country on all sides, as far as the eye could reach, was thickly studded with watch-fires, which gave sufficient light to render the various movements and occupations of the soldiers perceptible. Some sauntered about, others were lying down around the fires, several groups were busy with their field-cookery, others were playing at cards, and in many places large parties were amusing themselves with dancing. The rude camp-music of the soldiers, and their still ruder songs, were mingled with the hoarse challenge of the sentry, and the stern word of command; and these various sounds were sustained by a strange, ceaseless, undefinable murmur, out of which they seemed to be produced, and into which they seemed to sink back again; whilst the striking uniforms of the soldiers, and their exaggerated shadows passing swiftly over the white tents, gave an uncouth character to the scene. The

red flames of the watch-fires, as they occasionally shot up higher into the air, and caused the whole to come out for a moment into stronger relief, gave it an unearthly aspect, more like the creation of some troubled dream than a living reality. The only interruption I experienced here was from a non-commissioned officer, whose questions being easily answered left me to pursue my route towards the town.

Marchegg is a handsome town, pleasantly situated on the banks of the March, and surrounded with beautiful verdant hills. It is a place of considerable antiquity, and was of no mean importance at the period of the Turkish wars, when it was strongly fortified. The remains of the fortifications still exist, and add much to the romantic beauty of the town. The place belongs to Prince Palfy, who occasionally resides there. The Austrians had posted a large body of men in the market-place, with a park of artillery. It was highly amusing to witness the astonishment of the simple town's-folk at the great guns, which was only equalled by their delight at the music of the military band, which was playing before the castle of Prince Palfy, where the Colonel had his quarters.

I inquired for lodgings, and was fortunate enough to light upon the house of a fisherman; I lost no time in endeavouring to discover whether he would

assist me to a passage across the river, but it was still the same disheartening tale—all communication between the two banks was prohibited. The man and his wife seemed very sorry at their inability to serve me, and cordially acceded to my request for a night's rest when they learned that I was a Hungarian. They told me they were natives of Hungary themselves, and had come to reside here from Malaczka, the first frontier town on the Hungarian side of the river. They spoke with the most enthusiastic admiration of Kossuth and his colleagues, and seemed firmly persuaded that Austria would be worsted in the contest. "The God of Hungary," said the man, standing up and extending his right arm, "will sustain her righteous cause. Kossuth, my hero, the noble hussars, and gallant honveds will drive these robber Croats and Austrians from our fatherland, and restore to it the freedom it has sighed for so long."

The patriotic sentiments of these good people were balm to my spirit, and confirmed my resolution to consecrate myself wholly to the service of my country. They now began to converse amongst themselves in the Slavish dialect, which I understood perfectly, and I could hear that they congratulated themselves on being able to entertain me, and agreed that my narrative was correct, and that I belonged to the higher ranks of society.

They treated me with the utmost attention, and insisted upon my occupying their own bed, whilst they laid themselves to rest upon the floor. It was a proof their patriotism, which though difficult to accept, it would have been almost cruel to refuse : I was therefore compelled to yield to their solicitations.

I laid myself down, but could not sleep. I thought of the imminent dangers by which I was surrounded, and doubted my power to evade them ; but I thought also on the glowing patriotism which I had found in this lowly dwelling, and felt a fresh impulse to my hopes and resolution, and at length I sunk into a profound slumber, from which I awoke the next morning with renewed strength and spirit. My kind hostess had already warmed my room and prepared breakfast, and seemed eager to seize every opportunity of promoting my comfort. When ready to resume my journey I offered them money for my entertainment, but though extremely poor, I could not prevail upon them to accept a single coin. I thanked them from my heart for their friendship and hospitality, but they replied with true, though untaught philosophy, that it was only by cordially assisting one another we could endure the oppression and sufferings to which we were exposed.

Having failed in all my attempts to cross the

river by any other conveyance, I determined to proceed to Angern, and make an effort to pass by means of the vehicle which brought the daily post from Malaczka, and which I was informed carried passengers on its return. A journey of six or seven hours lay before me, which I was obliged to perform on foot over roads nearly impassable. All the villages on the route were occupied by the military. I leave my reader to judge of the weary plight in which I reached Angern, and of my feelings when after a day of such excessive effort, travelling through mire and water, without any refreshment, and having to endure the ceaseless insolence of the soldiers, I was scornfully repulsed and driven back once more.

It was a severe trial to the constancy of my resolution, but I determined still to persevere. At the inn where I put up for the night I learned that there was a sugar manufactory at Darnkrat, in which a great number of persons were employed, the majority of whom came daily to their labour from Hungary, and returned at night. It occurred to me that if I could mingle with these persons on their return, I might evade the sentinels and succeed in my object. I resolved to make the effort at once, though I was so fatigued that I could hardly put one foot before the other.

The lordship of Darnkrat belongs to the Duke of



Coburg, who generally resides during the summer at the Castle of Ebenthal, about two hours' distant. The whole of this district is very charming; the town lies in a beautiful valley, having on one side soft undulating hills, which furnish rich pasturage, and on the other an extensive forest, stocked with an abundance of game. The inhabitants are noted for their honourable dealings and cordial manners. The poor find ready and hospitable relief in the ducal palace; and not in this particular only, but in the practice of every social virtue, does this exalted family set the most valuable example to the whole country. If every ruler acted like this Prince towards his subjects, we should hear little of revolutions. May he live long to enjoy the affectionate homage of his people!

On reaching Darnkrat, I entered an inn, and whilst my hostess was showing my chamber, made some inquiries relative to my design. But to my utter dismay, I learned that even the sugar-workers were no longer permitted to cross the boundaries of the two countries, and that some who had come over, were prevented from returning to their homes. I now despaired, altogether; I wept and murmured against my hard destiny. The strength which had been supported so long by the hope of fulfilling my mission, entirely departed. I was utterly prostrated in mind and body, with the miserable prospect of

having to retrace, without one encouraging thought, the whole of that long and dangerous journey, over which the desire of serving my native land had sustained me. In the midst of such gloomy forebodings and sorrowful thoughts, I was overpowered with sleep, but it was not untroubled. The past scenes of my life were renewed in my dreams. I lived over again the happy period when I dwelt with my own people and kindred in honour and contentment. I saw my husband once more. I heard him speak. Could it be altogether an illusion of the fancy? I heard him distinctly utter the following words, in tones which can never be forgotten by me: "Go back to the place from whence you have come, there a way shall be opened to you to the fatherland, and you will find comfort and counsel."

I know that such visionary incidents may be accounted for on natural principles; but I did not wish to have it explained away. It was too pleasing to my feelings to be disregarded, and in the absence of all living counsel, this dream was a motive sufficiently strong to actuate a woman.

I went back, therefore, without delay, to Marchegg, where my excellent fisherman and his wife were overjoyed to see me. When I had informed them of my new disappointment, the fisherman told me that provisions had begun to fail in the Imperial

camp, and that large foraging parties of the Austrian soldiers had made incursions on the Hungarian territory, and collected provisions on that side of the river, which he, with others, was compelled to transport across the March to the encampment in boats. They proposed that I should dress myself in a suit of their son's clothes, and busy myself with the tackle of the boat, so as to escape observation during the passage of the river. I did so; everything succeeded perfectly, and at length, after so many severe trials and disappointments, I stood once more upon Hungarian soil. The object of my earnest longings was accomplished; I could now breathe freely; the air appeared purer—it was the air of my native land. I was alone; it was ten o'clock at night, but I was not lonely; the very shadows of the hills wore a friendly aspect, and the stars seemed to glow with a milder radiance.

## CHAPTER II.

A generous landlord—Journey to Neudorf—A cowardly Commissioner—I receive assistance from a hussar officer—A camp welcome—Valley of the Calvarienberg—Arrival at Presburg—First interview with Csányi—Introduction to Lazar and Görgey—Mission from Görgey to Simonich's position—Visit to my Hungarian estate—Pastor Hurban—Return from Simonich's camp—Brilliant conduct of our hussars at Parendorf—Mission to Vienna from Görgey, Motoschitzky, and Kossuth—Arrival at Vienna—Its appearance—Visit to Schönbrunn—Interview with Windischgrätz and Jellachich—Return to Presburg—Proclamation of Francis Joseph—Its falsehoods.

SOME National Guards soon appeared in view, clothed in their beautiful Hungarian uniform, and remarkable for their excellent discipline. The sight of them filled me with joy; I felt proud of my country and of her defenders. A roadside inn opportunely offered its friendly harbour, and I determined to put up there for the night. The landlord received me with the utmost politeness, and invited me to sup with his family. We had a great deal of conversation on the condition and

prospects of the country. I indulged the landlord's love of gossip, in order to elicit his feelings and opinions, and found that, like all his fellow-countrymen of the same class, he almost idolized Kossuth, and was firmly persuaded that if the conflict were left between Hungary and Austria, the former would most certainly prove victorious.

For the first time since I left Vienna, I experienced a feeling of relief from my apprehensions, and a sentiment of joy diffused itself through my whole being. On the next morning, with a cheerful heart, and a refreshed frame, I resumed my journey, having said farewell to my host, who was a genuine Magyar, and instead of taking payment, actually compelled me to accept of five florins for road-money, as he called it. Encouraged and animated, I directed my course towards Neudorf. The difference which our feelings make in the character which external objects wear to the mind was manifest to me on this occasion. The road was excessively bad, now a swamp, and now a mere track through a collection of mire, in which I stuck fast at every step. Whilst, on the Austrian side of the river, such a journey would have thrown me into despair, now I felt at home, approaching the goal of my long pilgrimage, and scarcely regarded these inconveniences.

I reached Neudorf a little before mid-day, and

found that every horse in the place was already engaged. Anxious, however, that the important object of my mission should suffer as little delay as possible, I sought an interview with the Commissioner of the district, hoping, by his authority, to obtain some means of conveyance to Presburg. I told him my business, and related the hardships and privations I had endured ; but he was a cold-blooded creature, and showed no feeling, either of humanity or patriotism. He said it was out of his power to grant my request, as all the horses that could be found in his district had been sent some days previously to the Hungarian camp. He added, gratuitously, that the Austrian cannon at Schlosshof might, at any moment, be directed against Neudorf, which they could reduce to ashes in a few hours ; that, in anticipation of such an event, he had caused all his effects to be packed up ready for instant removal, and that he considered the whole war as a vain attempt on the part of Hungary. I soon saw that he was an Austrian in heart, and disdained either to reply to his cowardly remarks, or farther to enforce my request. I wandered forth again and reached Blumenau, about half way between Neudorf and the city of Presburg, the goal of all my desires and efforts.

Near Blumenau I was stopped by a hussar

officer, who asked me whence I had come, and whither I was going. I told him I had just come from Vienna, and earnestly desired to see Kossuth on business of the greatest importance. He informed me that Kossuth was no longer in Presburg, having gone to Pesth; but stated that if my information was as important as I had represented it, I had better communicate it at once to Csányi the Government Commissioner, who was still in Presburg, and offered to place his own horses at my disposal for this purpose, and to accompany me on the journey. I gladly accepted his offer, and we immediately proceeded on our route. We had to pass through an encampment of the Weissenburg National Guards, in the midst of which we halted for some time. When the officers learned who I was, and the object of my journey, they crowded round the carriage to congratulate me on my escape from so many dangers, and, standing in a circle, proposed my health, with many flattering terms, in an impromptu carouse. The sight of these brave fellows gave me great pleasure, and the burning patriotism and splendid order which prevailed amongst them, though but newly-raised troops, excited my highest admiration.

How strong, thought I, must be the enemy that will trample down these lion-hearted men! Nor

was the thought fallacious. Two empires, the most powerful in the world, were obliged to unite their forces and exhaust their treasures, before they could conquer the small kingdom of Hungary; and they succeeded at last by treachery and corruption, rather than by valour. Our way lay through a rich valley, bordered on the left by vineyards, and on the right, by the picturesque heights of the Calvarienberg, a favourite summer retreat of the citizens of Presburg, but now covered with hundreds of workmen, employed in throwing up fortifications. We proceeded at once to Csányi's hotel, and having announced myself as an agent from Vienna, I was admitted immediately. He was greatly astonished at my having undertaken so perilous a journey, and still more at my having accomplished it successfully.

Amongst those present on this occasion, I recognised Lutzinsky, Ujhazy, and Mürey. They were all extremely eager in their inquiries concerning the state of matters at Vienna, and the incidents of my journey; but I was soon fatigued with being an object of curiosity and wonder to so many persons, and requested Csányi to favour me with a private interview, for the purpose of receiving my communications, to which he immediately acceded. I imparted to him only as much as I thought necessary to interest him. Amongst other intelligence which he thought highly important, I gave



him a full description of the position and force of the Austrian army on the river March. But the most essential portions of my information I reserved for Kossuth himself, to whom alone, as I told Csányi, I could fully make known the mission with which I was charged. He saw the propriety of this, and placed a courier at my disposal, by whom I despatched a letter to Kossuth at once.

I rested myself thoroughly that night, and the next morning, November 12th, before entering upon any fresh engagement, I repaired to the cathedral of Presburg, and offered my solemn and grateful thanksgivings to my Maker for the gracious protection he had given me from my country's enemies. On returning to my hotel, I found a message from Csányi, desiring to see me as soon as possible. I went to his hotel at once. He told me that Görgey was very anxious to see me, and offered to accompany me to his head-quarters at the palace of Prince Primas. I accepted his proposal. At the palace Csányi introduced me to General Lazar, who afterwards played an important part in the great drama of the war. In a short time Görgey made his appearance. He received me with the greatest politeness, and asked me several questions calculated to elicit whatever I knew of the Austrian army. I told him that the united corps of Windischgrätz, Auersperg, and Jellachich, would amount

to about a hundred thousand men. That the Walmoden cuirassiers, the Johann dragoons, and the three infantry regiments, Ludwig, Kaiser, and Karl, had on the 4th of November advanced to Brück, on the Leitha, with four batteries of artillery, two of which were of six-pounders, and the other two of twelve-pounders; and that it was the evident intention of the Imperialist Generals to concentrate their forces upon that point. I further informed him, that the garrison at Marchfeld was weak, and that the only guards in occupation of the river frontier, from Schlosshof to Angern, were the Nassau regiment, and the two squadrons of the Auersperg and Mengen cuirassiers; but I expressed my fear that General Simonich would soon receive reinforcements from Vienna, by the Göding and Hollitz railway, as I had seen preparations going on, and troops detached daily for that express object, up to the moment of my departure.

Görgey seemed surprised at the copiousness of my information, and to entertain some doubts of its authenticity. With the obvious intention of testing my knowledge, he asked me how many pieces of cannon formed a battery? I could not help smiling at the transparency of his design, and said in reply, that he need not hesitate to receive and act upon my intelligence, as I had been too well acquainted with military affairs from my earliest youth, to fall

into error in the estimate I had given him. This seemed to remove his scruples ; and he asked me if I was acquainted with the district occupied by Simonich's corps ? And on my answering in the affirmative, if I had resolution enough to undertake a mission thither, I expressed my perfect readiness, requesting only two days' delay, to rest myself and put my wardrobe in order.

On the 15th of November I received my charge, namely, to obtain accurate intelligence concerning the strength and position of Simonich's troops. I immediately took the railway to Tyrnau, and travelled thence by post-carriage through Nadash and Senitz to my own estate. My people were in the greatest terror and anxiety, expecting momentarily a visit from Simonich's soldiers. Their fears, however, proved happily unfounded. I remained here until the 21st, and having received and returned the visits of my neighbours, took my departure for Neutra, where I fell in with the first division of Simonich's corps, and an uncouth mob of peasants under the command of the Pastor Hurban, a fanatical Slavish priest. The division was on its march to Senitz, and was about two thousand strong. Having ascertained, by calculating the quantity of provisions they consumed, that the whole force of Simonich amounted to about six thousand men ; and having made accurate observations on their position,

I returned to my residence, where I made such arrangements of my most necessary affairs as a hasty visit would permit, and set out once more for Presburg, to give an account of my mission. At Senitz, which lay in the route, I found the headquarters of a Hungarian division, commanded by Colonel Ordody, to whom, as it imported him especially, on account of his proximity to the enemy, I communicated all the information I had obtained, and authenticated it by my papers. I then started by post-carriage for Presburg, and waited upon Görgey at once with a full report of my mission. He thanked me for the services I had rendered to the cause of Hungary, and handed me a letter which had come by express from Kossuth. He also entrusted me with a despatch for the — Embassy at Vienna. Baron Motoschitzky requested me, at the same time, to bear a letter from him to Prince Windischgrätz, containing the intelligence that his newly-purchased estate, at Leska, had been reduced to ashes by the Hungarian bombardment. I was glad of this last commission, as a letter to the Field-Marshal would be a sufficient passport for me through any part of the Austrian encampment. And should I be fortunate enough to receive an answer from Windischgrätz, it would protect me from all interruption on my return.

During the time that arrangements were making

for my journey to Vienna, I made an excursion to Parendorf, where I was an eye-witness of the bravery of our soldiers. The seventh division of Görgey's corps had been stationed there for the purpose of covering the frontier. At an hour's distance stood the corps of Jellachich, at Wolfsthal, in the Austrian territory. The Austrian outposts were held by the Walmoden cuirassiers, and the Hungarian outposts by the Nicolaus hussars. Jellachich had pushed forward a few squadrons of the cuirassiers to reconnoitre preparatory to a second attempt to cross the frontier. They were visible from a hill near the town, advancing in beautiful order; nor did there appear any indications of opposition to their progress till they reached the centre of a large plain, near Parendorf. A body of our hussars, about half their number, then suddenly appeared upon the margin of the plain, where they paused for a moment, as if to measure the distance of the enemy with accuracy. They then got in motion at a smart trot, which gradually increased to full speed, in the direction of the Austrians. Those who were looking on, thought these were but the advanced guard, and that the main body of the hussars would soon follow; as the distance between them and the enemy was rapidly diminishing, all looked anxiously for the expected succours—none appeared. Away, away, rushed the gallant band,

like an eagle upon his prey. Their speed increases every moment. They near the enemy. The Austrians pause—their hussars are upon them—their main body is hurled to the earth by the fearful impetus, and the rest scattered over the plain like froth, whilst the hussars, in a compact mass, their speed scarcely arrested by the shock, literally pass over a confused heap of men and horses. It was a grand, but a very fearful sight; and, as I learned afterwards, cost the Austrians very dear, whilst our loss was scarcely anything.

The same evening all the preparations for my journey back to Vienna were finished. I had now intrusted to me, a letter from Kossuth to the — Embassy, a letter from Baron Motoschitzky to Prince Windischgrätz, and many private letters from the officers to persons in Vienna. My military friends advised me to conceal the letters in my haversack. This did not appear to me good counsel; for I knew that, should I be stopped by the Croats, they would ransack and turn inside out everything likely to contain food, my letters would thus be discovered, and myself inevitably put to death. I had determined to make the journey in a peasant's cart, as it would expose me to fewer inquiries and stoppages than a vehicle of more imposing appearance. I caused one of the planks of the cart to be hollowed out at the end, without breaking the

surface of the side, and placed all my letters in the space thus formed. The plank was then replaced, and the joining at the end rubbed over with clay. I now felt perfectly certain that they could not be discovered by even the prying Croats.

On the evening of December the 5th, I left Presburg, and soon reached Wolfsthal, where Jellachich's corps was posted. As usual, I was seized at the outposts, and subjected to a rigid examination. In anticipation of such an event, I had provided myself with papers from a well-known fruit warehouse at Presburg, and represented myself as an agent of that house going to Vienna to collect in some debts. In spite of all my precautions, however, I was placed under military surveillance as far as Sömmering. I was stopped and examined six-and-twenty times, but in all cases my papers proved a sufficient passport. At length, early on the 6th, the cupolas and towers of the once gay, but now humbled and mourning, city of the Kaisers appeared in view.

I entered Vienna. It appeared to my imagination invested with a sombre and tragic hue, and the ruins which marked the fierceness of the recent struggle against tyranny, seemed fraught with solemn admonition to all despotic rulers. The figure of my slaughtered husband came before my mind; but the thronging memories which accompanied it I cannot, even did I desire to, depict. It

was now exactly a month since I had left the city, but the exciting events which I had passed through made it appear a much longer period. I repaired to the Hotel of the — Embassy, where I was received with the greatest attention, and an immediate answer promised to Kossuth's despatch. From thence I proceeded to Schönbrun, with the letter to Prince Windischgrätz; but was informed that he was gone with Jellachich to the Imperial Court at Olmütz, and would not return till the next day. His nephew, Count Windischgrätz, whom I saw soon after with Count Thun and Prince Liechtenstein, confirmed this information. I returned, therefore, to Vienna, and occupied myself in delivering the various letters with which I was charged. In the evening I received the promised answer of the — Ambassador to Kossuth's letter.

On the next day I again visited Schönbrun, and was admitted to an interview with Windischgrätz and Jellachich,—the two pillars of the House of Hapsburg. They received me with distinguished courtesy. Could they have divined the thoughts that filled my heart, how different would have been my reception! I handed my letter to Windischgrätz: he read it, and seemed struck with terror at its contents. I confess it was not without a secret feeling of satisfaction I saw this man taste some of the bitterness of that misery into which, with



a remorseless hand, he had plunged myriads of his own, and of my countrymen. He went into his cabinet to write an answer to Motoschitzky, and Jellachich remained standing in the presence of his deadly enemy. I now looked, for the first time, upon the calumniator of Hungarian honour—the plunderer and destroyer of Vienna. I could scarcely refrain from giving utterance to the feelings of disgust and scorn that swelled within me; but I could serve my country more effectually, and was silent. He questioned me as to the number and condition of the Hungarian troops. I represented them as double their actual force. Upon which he said, with apparent carelessness, that those divisions which I had not seen were probably still stronger. His drift was evidently to draw from me some information respecting the position of the various corps, but I defeated it by taking refuge in the general ignorance of my sex upon such matters. Windischgrätz now returned with his written answer to Motoschitzky. He thanked me again for the trouble I had taken on his account; and what pleased me much more, he directed Count Thun to make out an order, giving me liberty to pass, wherever I chose, unmolested by the Austrian troops, to which he appended his own signature. I took my leave: my object was accomplished, and the two great Generals—the conquerors of Prague and Vienna—were outwitted by a woman.

On the esplanade of the castle I met a messenger coming from the State Printing Office, with the proclamation containing the authoritative announcement of the Emperor Ferdinand's abdication. I obtained a copy, and having thus effected all that I desired, left Vienna at seven o'clock in the evening. My return was very different from my last journey. The Field-Marshal's autograph operated like a magic spell, and everywhere commanded for me the utmost attention and respect: no one recognised in the bearer of so potent a missive, the poor fruit-woman who had passed through the lines two days before.

I reached Presburg at four o'clock the next morning, and caused Csányi to be instantly informed of my arrival. He was in bed, but arose immediately, and received my information. The proclamation announcing Ferdinand's abdication was copied on the spot, and sent off with the other despatches to Kossuth by an express. The next day I visited Görgey, and communicated to him, also, the results of my mission. I found him reading a proclamation of the Archduke Francis Joseph, in which he declared his determination not to treat with the "*Hungarian rebels*;" but with all the terrors of fire and sword, "*either to annihilate the traitor hordes, or force them to submit to his lawful authority.*" Such was the language of this wicked and slanderous manifesto. Had we

been rebels, instead of subjects of an independent kingdom, seeking to defend our national liberty, and the rights purchased by the blood of our fathers, and repeatedly guaranteed against foreign encroachments, we might have asked, who has made us rebels? Have we not received provocation so deep, and deadly, and reiterated, as would make loyalty to our tyrants rebellion against mankind, and justify the deposition from a power, so grossly abused, of even a hereditary dynasty? Our laws were abrogated, our rights denied: our national honour traduced and blackened. The industry of our people suppressed, our commerce extinguished. The paths of knowledge closed against our youth, and our loyal and moderate remonstrances against this unheard-of oppression trifled with and turned into ridicule; and lest all this was not sufficient to gratify the hereditary hatred of our tyrants, the savage Croats bounded in upon our innocent peasantry in a time of profound peace, and their leader, Jellachich, his hands still red with the blood of our people, and his face black with the smoke and ashes of our villages, appointed Imperial Lieutenant and Governor of our country.

These, I know, are vain exclamations, but I cannot altogether suppress my burning emotions of shame and indignation, when I remember the manner in which my country has been slandered and mangled

by the faithless and inhuman policy of the Hapsburgs. The following facts which lie patent to the commonest apprehension, will remain for ages to come a memorial of Austrian misrule in the popular traditions of Hungary.

On the 16th of March, 1848, of his own free will, and to the universal satisfaction of his people, the Emperor Ferdinand confirmed the Hungarian Constitution, as it had been presented to him the day before, in accordance with the desire of the nation. The rejoicings on this occasion were befitting the triumph of loyalty and freedom. Kossuth, the chosen of the people, entered Vienna with the Palatine of Hungary. The citizens took the horses from his carriage, and drew it themselves to the Imperial residence, as a testimony of honour to the cause he represented. The Emperor promised to fulfil all the petitions laid before him.

On the next day a deputation of Hungarian youths, dressed in their national costume, paraded the streets of the capital, crowned with the bouquets and garlands which showered upon them wherever they passed in token of the popular sympathy. Banners waved in all directions, and joyous "*Elyens !*"\* filled the air; the Emperor again confirmed all that he had promised on the previous

\* The Hungarian "Huzza !"

day, and the contentment and joy of the people knew no bounds. Alas! the scene was destined soon to change. The many-headed monster known as the Camarilla aroused itself, united itself with the military power, and sought to strangle the freedom of the people in its very infancy. The good-natured Emperor Ferdinand was compelled to resign the crown in favour of his brother's son, a boy yet in his minority. This helpless tool of the Camarilla was compelled, in his turn, to annul all that his uncle had confirmed, and because the Hungarians had dared to assert their rights thus solemnly guaranteed by their lawful monarch, and to stand up in defence of them against a youth who had no legal claim to their obedience, they were stigmatized as rebels and traitors, their land covered with mourning, and filled with lamentation. These things, I affirm, will long dwell in the memory of my country; retribution for such crimes may be slow, but it is certain. Truth cannot be always confounded, nor does justice slumber for ever. Hungary intrusts her cause to the judgment of posterity.

## CHAPTER III.

Visit to Hampfen—An Austrian surprise party surprised—Mission from Kossuth to the Diet at Kremsier—Journey to Tyrnau and Neustadt—A patriotic Jewish family—Difficulty of crossing the Austrian lines—Arrival at Strani within the lines—Kremsier—Old acquaintances from Vienna—Visit to Olmütz—Return to Strani—Cross the Austrian lines without difficulty—Arrival at Neustadt—Banquet interrupted—Capture of Tyrnau by the Austrians—Reception by Guyon—His character—Attack upon a honved detachment, without officers, repulsed—Arrival at Presburg—Voyage to Komorn—Visit to Presburg—Windischgrätz at Presburg.

DURING my stay at Presburg, I paid a visit to Hampfen, a small town about three hours' distant. The population were in a state of great excitement, in consequence of a report which had reached them that a battle had been fought and won by the Hungarians in their neighbourhood. The intelligence was confirmed by a courier, who arrived soon after. The facts were as follows: The Austrians had planned a night-attack upon the Hungarian encampment, and for this purpose had sent forward,

from Angern, on the 10th of December, a few squadrons of Mengen cuirassiers, and a half battalion of the Nassau regiment, with every precaution to effect a complete surprise; such precautions were vain, however, in a country where every peasant was a sentinel.

The Imperialists had already crossed the River March, and were advancing upon the patriot camp, when the intelligence of their approach reached the latter. It was about midnight; but there was ample time to prepare for their reception. A company of Tyrolese jagers, and a squadron of Alexander hussars were posted at both sides of the road, in a wood in front of the village of Ungareigen. The day had just begun to break, when the enemy was seen moving forward rapidly, and in profound silence. Not a sound or movement betrayed the presence of the Hungarians until the Austrians were completely within the ambushade. The hussars and jagers then raised their terrific battle-cry, and threw themselves upon the crowded ranks of the foe. The surprise and confusion amongst the Imperialists was at first indescribable, but as the daylight increased, they became aware of the small number of their assailants, and having retired a little and rallied their broken ranks, they advanced again gallantly to the attack.

A desperate and obstinate hand-to-hand fight

now ensued, in which both sides displayed the utmost bravery, but which would probably have ended in the total destruction of our brave fellows, who were greatly outnumbered, had not the enemy's cavalry fallen into confusion through some unexplained accident. The hussars saw it, and charged with such fury that the Austrians were completely broken, and fled on all sides in the wildest confusion. They were pursued to a long distance, and the greater number either destroyed or captured. The joy on this occasion was the greater that the enemy had been caught in his own net, and surprised himself whilst endeavouring to surprise others. The loss on our side, though trifling compared with that of the Imperialists, was sufficiently great to prove the deadly obstinacy of the conflict.

On my return to Presburg, Csányi handed me a packet from Kossuth, containing despatches for the Diet at Kremsier, and a letter, in which he prayed me to undertake their transmission. Csányi seemed to doubt my ability to accomplish a mission so full of danger and difficulty, for it involved the necessity of penetrating the Austrian lines, and of running the gauntlet through the numerous hostile cantonments which beset the road from Presburg to Kremsier. The Commissioner knew also, that even women, if detected in performing such services were treated by the Imperialists with the most barbarous



severity. He was, therefore, surprised when I accepted the charge with joy; but I had only my life to lose, and burned with desire to serve my fatherland, even at the sacrifice of that. He gave me a general warrant to demand money and horses from the Hungarian officials along the route, and Görgey gave me credentials to his subordinates. The two then took their leave, with earnest wishes for my safety and for the success of my enterprise.

I commenced my journey on the 12th of December, and reached Tyrnau the same day by railway. There the Government Commissary, Mürey, provided me with horses, which were to be at my service as far as Neustadt. Up to this point all went very smoothly; but here the difficulties of the journey commenced. Behind Neustadt, the road in the direction of the Moravian frontier was barricaded and fortified; I left my portmanteau, therefore, with the baggage of Prince Wovonetzky, and proceeded to Neustadt, where I arrived about one in the morning. A corporal of one of the battalions of the Ceccopiéri regiment which had come over to the Hungarian service, received me at the gate, and upon sight of Görgey's certificate, conducted me to an inn. After a short time, the Major of the battalion made his appearance; and having read Csányi's warrant, immediately provided me with a carriage and horses, to convey me as near to the Austrians'

entrenchments as I should deem it prudent to travel in that manner. For means to cross the lines, however, I was left entirely to my own resources. I had the good fortune to meet with a Jewish woman, whom I soon discovered to be a thorough Hungarian in principle. She informed me that she had a daughter living at Strani, a village on the Austrian side of the frontier. This information suggested to me a project for accomplishing my formidable undertaking. I disclosed my design to my Hebrew friend, who entered into it with the greatest zeal. It was arranged between us in the following manner : I dressed myself as a public messenger,\* in clothes which she provided for me, and to render my disguise perfect, I dyed my hands and face to a deep sun-brown. My hostess made up a parcel of things which I was to carry to her daughter. My own clothes were made up in another parcel, and both, together with an unsealed letter, which she wrote, were addressed to the daughter. My despatches I sowed up carefully in the lining of my fur cloak.

A countrywoman travelled with me, and carried my parcels to the frontier, where I took them

\* In Hungary, and parts of Austria, there is a class of women called *Botenfrauen*, by whom all parcels and messages which cannot be sent by post are carried from one part of the country to another.

myself, and we advanced boldly into the midst of the Austrian entrenchments. A sergeant-major of the sixth battalion of the Feldjagers stopped us, and inspected the pass which we had brought from Neustadt. He then took us to the Custom's Office, where we underwent a strict examination, and had our parcels thoroughly searched. We had taken good care, however, that nothing of a suspicious kind could be found in them; and as for the lining of my fur cloak, it was not once thought of. We were allowed to depart, and proceeded to Strani, which was sufficiently distant from the frontier to remove all further apprehension of interruption from the soldiery.

I left my good companion with the Jewish family at Strani to wait for my return, and having thrown off my disguise, resumed my journey. I took the stage-coach to Hradish, and the railway from thence to Holein, where I found an omnibus which finally deposited me at Kremsier, the place of my destination. At the gate stood a man whose duty it was to take notes and write a description of every stranger who arrived. I know not what sort of sketch he gave of me, but if it were drawn from the papers which I showed him, it was calculated greatly to deceive his employers; for in the hard necessity of my country, I was obliged to assume a variety of characters to do her some service. On

this occasion, I was the wife of a fruiterer at Strani, and showed his certificate to that effect. The Baroness would have been arrested, but the fruit-woman was allowed to pass unmolested.

The Diet was sitting in the Episcopal Palace ; I went thither, and applied to the officer who registered the addresses of the deputies, in order to ascertain the residence of one member of the left, and one of the right, to whom I intended to announce my mission, for the purpose of avoiding all cause of jealousy, though the reader will naturally suppose that my communications were specially directed to the former party.

Dr. V—d gave me all the necessary information ; I soon found those of whom I was in quest, and with them a multitude of old acquaintances from Vienna. My sudden appearance in their midst seemed to them something supernatural. They had not seen me since my first journey from Vienna, for on my return they were all at Kremsier, and knowing the imminent dangers through which I had to pass, they had long numbered me with the dead. These circumstances rendered the communications which I made to them concerning the spirit and determination of the Hungarian nation peculiarly impressive.

Their astonishment increased as I narrated my hardships and escapes from deadly peril, and reached

its height when I showed them the despatches from Kossuth. They appeared to regard me as a messenger from heaven ; they could not comprehend how a woman could endure such sufferings ; many wept, nor could I refrain from tears myself, but they were tears of gratitude to the God of Hungary, who had protected me and enabled me to show what a feeble woman can brave for the land of her affections.

From Kremsier I proceeded to Olmütz, where the young Emperor Francis Joseph resided with his parents, since his flight from Vienna. I thought my presence there might be useful, and made the journey from a spontaneous desire to gather all the information possible concerning the proceedings of those whom, on every ground, I considered the enemies of my country. I observed the movements of parties, ascertained the prevailing opinions of the people, and purchased a variety of papers and journals which showed in what direction the tide of national feeling was setting.

Amongst other matters, I obtained an engraving of the young Emperor's portrait, which was entitled "The King of Hungary." Having thus furnished myself with abundant information, I took the railway again to Hradish, and proceeded thence to Strani, where I found my brave countrywoman ; and assuming my disguise once more, we started for the frontier,

accompanied by the Jewess. She was well known to the soldiers, and under her protection we were allowed to pass without any difficulty. The despatches to Kossuth I had sewed up, as before, in the lining of my fur cloak, and as soon as we had passed the Austrian lines, I took them out, and made the Jewess a present of the cloak, as a token of gratitude for her kindness and fidelity.

I was once more in Hungary, and secure from violence ; but the roads were so broken up with barricades and fortifications that it was necessary to cross the mountains on foot, in order to reach the spot where the carriage of the Ceccopiéri Major, from Neustadt, was directed to wait for my return. At length I found it, and proceeded to Neustadt. The coachman did not drive me to the hotel, as I expected, but to the residence of his master, in obedience to orders.

Here I found the Major, the district Commissioner, the principal civil and military officers of the town, and the *élite* of the inhabitants waiting for my arrival. They received me in the most flattering manner, and invited me to a public banquet, which was prepared in my honour, but which none of us were destined to enjoy. We had hardly seated ourselves at table, when Lieutenant-Colonel Degrad, an aide-de-camp of Görgey, entered the saloon, and announced the startling

intelligence that Tyrnau had been attacked and taken by the Austrians, and ordered the Major to march instantly to Neutra.

It was necessary for me now to seek some other route to Presburg, and I gladly accepted a place in Degrad's carriage, which conveyed me by a *détour* through Pitchtzen and Freistadtel, to Szered. Here we found the Government Commissioner, Mürey, who had just arrived from Tyrnau. He told us that it was certainly true that the Austrians had had possession of Tyrnau the day before, but only for a moment, for scarcely had they entered, when they were attacked by the brave Guyon, and driven out again with great loss.

Guyon was in every respect qualified to command an army; had he been General-in-Chief of the Hungarian forces, how different would have been the issue of the contest!—at least our arms would never have been sullied with treason. Although a Briton, and not a Magyar by birth, he was beloved and honoured by the hussars and honveds, as a father by his children. He was bold, enterprising, and judicious, and showed the highest degree of stratagetic skill in all his movements; but it happened in the Hungarian war, as it has frequently happened in other cases, that genius was often postponed to overweening self-conceit; and whilst men of genuine merit were content to serve

the great cause in a subordinate position, the destinies of the nation were grasped by a man remarkable only for his amazing ignorance, egotism, and love of notoriety.

On learning that Tyrnau was again in our possession, I proceeded thither as rapidly as my weary horses could bear me, for it was impossible to obtain a relay at Szered. I found Guyon, Pustelnic, and Wovonetzky, at Tyrnau; but on inquiring for my portmanteau, which had been left with Wovonetzky's baggage, I had the mortification to learn that it had fallen into the hands of the Austrians, with much booty besides. This was an untimely loss, as it contained my whole outfit. I wished to proceed by rail to Presburg, but all the carriages had been sent thither to fetch reinforcements for the garrison of Tyrnau, as the Austrians had appeared in force in the Carpathian Mountains, and a renewed attack upon the town was expected. Whilst in this state of suspense, the thunder of a furious cannonade reached our ears. The inhabitants of the town, inferring that the Austrians were engaged with another division of the Hungarian army, and apprehending an immediate attempt upon the garrison, wished to barricade the streets, but the burgomaster, Pitro, an Imperialist at heart, refused his permission. Guyon, however, who understood nothing of such double-dealing, caused him to alter his tone in a



moment, by a polite intimation that he would most probably be hanged if he obstructed the defence of the town.

In default of all other means of locomotion, I was glad to make the journey to Presburg in a vehicle constructed of wicker-work. On the way, the train with the reinforcements for Tyrnau passed us. It contained about a thousand honved troops, without a single officer. They were laughing, shouting, and singing, as if they were going to some holiday *fête*. A little farther a separate train passed us, carrying the officers. I could not help thinking this an unfortunate arrangement; for, although there was no danger of desertion from the Hungarian ranks, where every bosom burned with patriotic ardour, and every private soldier made the quarrel with the oppressor his own, yet the presence of the officers with the men would, I thought, have tended to confirm their habits of subordination, and to increase their confidence. I could not suppress a certain anticipation of evil from such carelessness, which was but too well founded.

The Austrians had surrounded Tyrnau, and taken possession of the terminus before the arrival of the honveds. A thick fog covered the town, so that our friends within the walls could not see what was passing without. The person in charge of the telegraph was brother to the traitorous burgomaster,

and, like him, devoted to the Austrian party. He gave no intimation, whatever, to the approaching train of the presence of the enemy. On came our gallant fellows unofficered, and in every respect unprepared for such a reception; and the moment they arrived they were surrounded and set upon by the Imperialists. Enraged at being caught in a trap, they drew their weapons, and fought with such fury and desperation, that their assailants began to hesitate; and before they could take measures for mastering this spirited company, Guyon was made acquainted with the affair, and flew with a strong body of troops to the rescue, by which means, the reinforcements were saved from this well-planned surprise of the Austrians.

I reached Presburg in the evening, and delivered my despatches, which were immediately sent to Kossuth, at Pesth, by a courier. I now prepared myself for a thorough rest, for I had had no sleep for four days, nor even paused in my journey, and therefore entered my hotel intent upon thoroughly recruiting myself. Already, in anticipation, I tasted the joys of undisturbed repose, when a messenger arrived with a request from the Government, that I would immediately set out for Komorn by the steamer, which was about to start, and wait there for the arrival of Görgey's corps, when the Government Commissioner, Csányi, who accompanied it, would

instruct me further as to the manner in which I could serve the fatherland.

The steamer left Presburg at ten o'clock at night. It was so crowded with prisoners, with sick, and with wounded, that there was not sufficient space to sit in any part of the vessel ; I was obliged, therefore, to pass the night on deck in a standing posture. The voyage was one of no small danger, for the Austrians had pressed forward in force upon the western bank of the Danube, and had constructed several shore batteries, for the purpose of sweeping the river. We succeeded, however, under cover of night, in passing their lines without attracting observation. Had they discovered us, we should have been blown to pieces and destroyed in a few moments. Towards morning, the Government Commissioner, Lutzinsky, provided me with a more comfortable position on board, and, summoning what resignation I could command, I passed the next day without any incident worth recording, until we arrived at Komorn in the evening. Lutzinsky gave directions for rooms and attendance to be provided for me, and the reader will by this time suspect that I was quite prepared to avail myself of such accommodations. I retired to rest, determined to indemnify myself for recent privations ; and I did so, for I slept with scarcely any intermission for two days and two nights.

On the 19th of December, Görgey and Lazar appeared before Komorn at the head of their respective corps, and Csányi entered the fortress at the same time. One evening, at dinner with some general officers, Csányi, who seemed to think that no obstacle could baffle me, said : " Well, Baroness, what do you suppose the black-yellows\* are now doing at Presburg ? I should like to know greatly." He meant this for a jest. I answered, carelessly, that it would interest me very much also, and there the matter dropped ; but my resolution was taken, and I immediately started for Presburg. I had two letters, of which it would not be discreet to make further mention, lest the persons interested in them should be compromised. As Presburg was already in the hands of the Austrians, it was necessary that I should provide myself with legitimization papers. These I obtained through the Commissioner Halatzi. He gave me a pass to a place in the county of Presburg, where I obtained papers which qualified me as an inhabitant of the county, from the district Commissioner, and thus I reached the city.

Presburg is an unfortified town of great extent. It was impossible to defend it against the superior forces of the Austrians, and the Hungarians had,

\* Black and yellow were the Austrian colours.

therefore, evacuated it without attempting an ineffectual opposition, which could only damage the city, and exasperate the enemy against the citizens. The bridge of boats which formed the ordinary communication between the two banks of the river, had been removed, in order to delay, as long as possible, the entrance of the Austrians; but the Danube had already begun to freeze, and in a short time was sufficiently solid to bear the troops in their passage. In this manner Prince Windischgrätz obtained possession of the city without striking a blow. He entered in triumph, and seemed to think he had obtained a great victory by the rejoicings he commanded on the occasion.

## CHAPTER IV.

Alarming recognition—Precipitate departure from Presburg—  
Dangerous mission to Tyrnau—Kindness of a Magyar Mayor—  
Passage of the Waag—Garrison of Tyrnau—Return to Komorn  
—Advice to General Lazar respecting Leopoldstadt—Military  
murder of Menyjantzky—Invitation to Raab—Meeting with  
Baron Thunes—Letter from Kossuth—Proposed mission to  
Gallicia—Prince Wovonetzky—Dinner at Görgey's—First in-  
terview with Kossuth.

I took all possible care to preserve my incognito whilst effecting the object of my visit, and succeeded perfectly for a time. Whilst delivering my letters, I ascertained the amount of contribution which Windischgrätz, in the pride of his fancied conquest, had levied upon the inhabitants; and found out, with sufficient correctness, every circumstance likely to affect the issue of an attempt, on the part of the Hungarians, to recover possession of the city. In spite of all my precautions to avoid detection, however, I was discovered; and in a way that might have proved very unfortunate, if not fatal to me, had I for a moment lost my

presence of mind. I was walking one day on the public promenade, far from supposing that I should meet any one to whom I was known, when, on turning to retrace my steps, I met young Windischgrätz and Count Thun, face to face. They remembered me perfectly, and instantly claimed my acquaintance. I thought I should have sunk into the earth in the first confusion of this dangerous recognition. How was I to account for my presence there? or what answer could I make to their inquiries? They thought I had just come from Schönbren, and the reader will suppose that I was in no hurry to rectify their mistake. Our conversation was long, and embraced a variety of topics. At length they seemed disposed to leave me, but requested to know my address, that they might wait upon me at my own residence. In the embarrassment and anxiety of the moment, I named a certain street and number, but at the same time declined as politely as I could the intended honour, under the pretext that I had made engagements to visit on that day some relatives at Tynau. They were satisfied with my excuses, and took their leave, whilst I remained, more dead than alive, with vivid pictures of the dungeon, alternating with the scaffold, before my mind.

This was manifestly no longer a place for me. I had my passport *viséé* with all possible

speed, and left Presburg that very afternoon. I arrived at Komorn on the evening of the 21st, and found that Csányi, for whom I had letters and much valuable information, had followed the head-quarters of Görgey's corps to Raab. I had not, therefore, the satisfaction of gratifying his curiosity concerning the black-yellows at Presburg in person, but I transmitted the letters and intelligence by a courier.

The undisturbed repose of another night was exceedingly grateful to me; and in the calm reflections of the morning, I could not help feeling astonished at myself for venturing almost gratuitously into circumstances of such imminent danger. I shuddered at the consequences, had Thun and Windischgrätz discovered my object when we met, and almost resolved not to run such serious hazard a second time. In the midst of these cogitations, visitors were announced, and immediately Lutzinsky and Lazar entered. They spoke of the great importance of Tyrnau to the Hungarian cause, and entreated me in the most urgent terms to pay a visit to the place, and, if possible, to ascertain the strength and condition of the Austrian garrison. I told them it was impossible, as I was already known there, and both the townspeople and their burgomaster, were unfavourably disposed towards the Hungarians; that discovery would be, therefore, much



more probable, and its consequences more to be dreaded than even at Presburg. They still urged their request, however, and I scarcely knew how to determine. I was flattered and excited by the confidence reposed in me by the Government, and my life and property had been long consecrated to the service of my fatherland. It would have been selfish to have refused this mission, merely because it was dangerous, I therefore undertook it, and the officers took their leave with many expressions of gratitude.

The journey now before me was one of extreme peril, owing to the palpable risk I ran of detection in a town where I was well known to the inhabitants, many of whom would have been glad to make their court to the Austrian party by informing upon me ; but there was nothing to be gained by hesitation, and there is something in the anticipation of unavoidable danger which impels us to encounter it as speedily as possible. It is, perhaps, our natural impatience of uncertainty which renders us eager to know the true character of the circumstances which we cannot shun, and makes the presence of real peril more tolerable than its apprehension. However this may be, I determined that the matter should be brought to an issue as soon as possible, and therefore set out for Komorn on the next day, having taken the precaution to remove from my slight commissariat everything that could

awaken suspicion. There was no difficulty up to the suburbs of Szered, but there I learned that the town was in possession of the enemy. It was absolutely necessary for me to pass the hostile garrison, and I am indebted to the Mayor of the suburb—a true-hearted Magyar—for my success in the attempt. He took the liveliest interest in my mission, and assisted me with all his power. The notary of the place furnished me with the dress of one of his servants, and thus equipped, and accompanied by a young peasant, I directed my course to Lantzarowitz, leaving Szered on the right. We crossed the Waag in a boat, as our soldiers had burned the bridge of Szered on their retreat from Tyrnau, which is about an hour distant. I left my companion at Szered with directions to wait for my return, and proceeded alone to Tyrnau. At some distance before the town I fell in with the Austrian outposts, and on being questioned as to my object in coming there, told them I had come from Lantzarowitz for the purpose of buying honey for the Christmas feast. Most fortunately, they were satisfied, and allowed me to enter the town. I went immediately and purchased a quantity of honey, and whilst doing so, made my observations upon the state of the place. Many persons who knew me perfectly, passed me by without recognition; and I had the satisfaction of feeling that my disguise was impenetrable.

The garrison consisted of about four thousand

men. There were two twelve-pounder batteries in the principal square, and several pieces of artillery in position on the glacis. I observed everything likely to be of interest to Lazar very accurately, and having obtained a thorough notion of the condition of the place, left it with my jar of honey under my arm. I passed the outposts without difficulty, and with a light heart reached Lantzarowitz, where my companion joined me. We returned without delay to the house of my excellent Mayor by the same route which we had taken in coming. He placed his own horses at my disposal, and I reached Kormorn the next morning at nine o'clock. I drove directly to General Lazar's quarters. He had given his servants orders to awake him at whatever hour of the night I should arrive; and a few minutes after my arrival was announced, he was ready to receive me. After congratulations upon my safe return, to which I had now become pretty well accustomed, I gave him a complete description of the strength and *matériel* of the garrison at Tyrnau, impressing upon him the feasibility of an attempt to recover it, as the troops in the fortress were few, and there were none from which they could be reinforced on this side of the Waag. I told him also that the fortress of Leopoldstadt, which lies near Tyrnau, and which was then in our possession, could not possibly hold out, should the Austrians

invest it, as it was very likely they would do; and ventured to advise him to withdraw our gallant honveds, and send them to Komorn, and to blow up the fort itself, lest it should fall into the hands of the Austrians.

The reader will perceive that I had already begun to learn something of strategy. The advice seemed judicious to the General. He promised to act upon it, but did not keep his word: perhaps he thought the counsels of a woman of no value on such matters, and merely wished to disembarrass himself of my importunity. If such were the case, he had afterwards sufficient reason to regret his conduct, for a few days subsequently the fortress was, as I had predicted, invested by the Austrians in overwhelming force, and the whole garrison compelled to surrender. The commander of the garrison was the young and noble Baron Menyjantzky, whose bravery was only equalled by the generosity and purity of his principles. He would have defended the place to the last man, and the troops would willingly have died with him, but the Governor, Ordody, was a coward, if not a traitor, and insisted upon an unconditional surrender. The youthful Baron thus fell into the hands of the Austrians. One would have thought that as his only crime was that of having taken arms for the sake of his country, his many noble qualities would have so far mitigated the

vengeance of his enemies, as to leave him at least the opportunity of redeeming what they might have deemed his errors ; but to look for mercy or humanity from exasperated tyranny, is as vain as to seek justice from it in its moments of calm. Meny-jantzky was delivered over to the executioner, and by express orders of the Austrian Crown, hanged in Presburg, in June, 1849. He met the death of a felon with the courage and constancy of a hero. And already the savage and inhuman policy which, not satisfied with cutting him off in the morning of life, sought, by the manner of his death, to cover his fair name with infamy, is becoming the execration of mankind.

After my journey to Tyrnau, I had a day of quiet at my hotel, and was dreaming of some diversion for my thoughts, which had been of late exceedingly harassing, when Lutzinsky was announced. He handed me a despatch which had been just brought from Raab by a courier. It was from Csányi, requesting my immediate presence in that city, and begging me to hold myself in readiness to proceed from thence to the seat of Government at Pesth. I now saw clearly that my services were thought of importance, and rejoicing in the idea that, although a woman, I had the power of serving my country, I cheerfully complied with the request. It was arranged that I

should travel with Thunes, in his carriage. He had been formerly Captain in the Imperial noble-guard. I had the deepest reason to remember him; he had fought by the side of my late husband at the barricade in Vienna; he had seen him fall, and received his last sigh, generously supporting him in his arms whilst the fight was raging around them. All these circumstances were deeply engraven upon my memory, and therefore, when I first saw Thunes at the hotel in Komorn, his appearance awakened an uncontrollable tumult of emotions in my bosom; the yet recent wounds of my heart bled afresh; and when I strove to answer the Captain's questions, my utterance was drowned in tears. The pale image of my dying husband arose before my mind, and it was long before I could recal myself from the agonising thoughts which overwhelmed me.

After a time, I recovered my composure sufficiently to relate to Thunes the history of my adventurous life since we had met in Vienna. He seemed greatly astonished at the services to which I had devoted myself, and at my resolution to serve my country at such deadly risk. But my country was all that remained of what I loved; it was now the supreme object of my affections; it was in danger and distress, and that thought was enough to transform the veriest cowardice into bravery.

Lazar charged me with some important verbal

communications to Görgey, and in six hours after leaving Komorn, we arrived at Raab, having travelled all the way by special relays. Csányi showed me a letter which he had just received from Kossuth, requesting him to induce me, if possible, to visit the seat of Government. He also handed me another letter from Kossuth, which was still sealed; on looking at the superscription, I found it was addressed to myself. This was too much good fortune. I opened it eagerly, and was deeply moved by its perusal. Alas! I cannot now impart its touching and noble contents, having been obliged to destroy it with my other papers, in order to save my life.

I can only give the reader a few of its thoughts from memory. Kossuth thanked me for what he was pleased to call my manifold services to our fatherland. He spoke of the cause in which we were engaged with a power and feeling bordering on inspiration. He said he had a great desire to make my acquaintance; that it would be very pleasing and advantageous to himself and many others to have an interview with me, and begged me, therefore, for the sake of the country which we all loved so well, and for his own sake, to pay him a visit at Pesth. This was an invitation too gratifying to my feelings to be refused. I longed to see the great President in person, whose marvellous

genius had aroused the spirit of the nation as that of one man, and directed its energies with an ability which was the theme of admiration amongst all classes of his countrymen.

Having expressed my ready acquiescence with the request of Csányi, he continued the conversation, observing that there was a Polish nobleman, Prince Wovonetzky, then at Raab, who was desirous of raising an auxiliary legion amongst his countrymen in Galicia, for the assistance of the Hungarians against the common oppressor ; that a proclamation addressed to the Poles in that province had been prepared and printed, but that Wovonetzky could not find any one upon whose courage and fidelity he could rely for the transmission and distribution of the copies. He then asked me if I would undertake it. I hesitated at first, for it was an undertaking of the most formidable character. The frontiers in that direction were hermetically sealed against all transit, and the penalty of an attempt to cross them on such an errand would, if discovered, have been instant death ; for if there was another race which the House of Hapsburg regarded with more fear and hate than the Hungarian, and watched more jealously, lest the revolutionary impulse should reach it, that race was the Polish. The well-known instinct which leads base men to persevere in damaging and calumniating those whom they have



once unjustly injured, animated and directed all the measures of the Camarilla against despoiled and dismembered Poland.

The importance of the duty proposed to me appeared so plain, however, that I consented to attempt it. We considered the matter at much length, and agreed upon a plan—of which more hereafter. Prince Wovonetzky now entered, and being informed of my consent, greeted me with a cordial pressure of the hand, and thanked me in the warmest terms. From the residence of Csányi I proceeded to the quarters of General Görgey, to deliver Lazar's message. Just as I arrived, Görgey galloped up in his general's uniform, with his baton in his hand. He had the look of a hero, and wanted only fidelity to be one. He recognised me in an instant, and jumping from his horse, saluted me with the most graceful courtesy. I gave him the result of my mission to Tyrnau, and my opinion concerning the impossibility of holding Leopoldstadt. He seemed to think both communications of great moment. He thanked me with apparent sincerity for the trouble I had taken to obtain information of such importance, and requested "that I would honour a soldier's dinner with my presence." There was so much frank cordiality in the invitation, that I could not refuse it.

At dinner I met Thunes again, the two Wovo-

netzky, Lieutenant-Colonel Pustelnic, and Major Hough, who was attached to General Bem's staff, and who had not seen me since the last rising in Vienna. He rejoiced greatly at meeting me once more in freedom, and under circumstances so full of promise to the cause of liberty. He had just arrived from Pesth with despatches for Csányi, and was about to return immediately. It was arranged that Captain Thunes and I should travel with him, and preparations were made at once for our departure, when Prince Wovonetzky, Baron Moto-schitzky, and two Polish officers announced their intention to accompany us.

We left at six o'clock in the evening, and arrived at Pesth the next morning at nine o'clock. I was now in the same town with Kossuth; my heart beat audibly at the thought of seeing him; he was, and is still, in my esteem, the greatest man of his time; the *beau ideal* of a patriot and hero, uniting in himself the grandest genius with the purest principles, and wanting only success to consecrate his name amongst the Tells, the Hampdens, and the Washingtons, who, in other lands and ages, stood up like him to vindicate the sacred liberties of man against despotism and oppression.

Our arrival having been announced to Kossuth, he sent us a message by Heinrick, the Police-Minister, intimating that he would receive us on

the next evening at seven o'clock. I spent the intervening time in improvising a wardrobe, having lost all my baggage at Tyrnau, and being anxious to appear at the audience in costume more becoming than my coarse travelling-dress. In these feminine labours I received much assistance from my noble and patriotic friends, the Baronesses Orzie and Czekonitz—alas! that I could not afterwards show my gratitude and esteem, in mitigating the horrors of the dungeon into which these delicate and high-born ladies were thrust by the remorseless minions of tyranny, for having dared to love their native land.

At the appointed hour we all proceeded to the official residence of the President, in the Windgasse. The ante-chamber was filled with officers and civilians. I was the only lady present, and, therefore, the object of a general curiosity, which oppressed me. I do not know that I should have had sufficient resolution to pass through such an ordeal if the occasion had been different, but the idea of seeing Kossuth, whose appearance I had so often imagined, and of actually hearing that voice, whose magic power not even his greatest enemies had failed to acknowledge, drowned all other considerations. I looked upon this interview as one of the greatest events of my life, and waited for the moment of our introduction with feverish anxiety.

Our patience was, however, put to a longer trial than we expected, for the President was overwhelmed with affairs. Szölözy, his secretary, approached me in the throng, and expressed much pleasure at the opportunity of making my acquaintance. He said that he had orders from Kossuth to introduce me immediately on my arrival, but I would not consent until he had finished his audience with the visitors then in his cabinet. Count Nyarie and Baron Bey, both members of the Government, now passed through the ante-room. They had just left Kossuth. I had hardly time to exchange a few words with them, when Szölözy announced that the President was ready to receive me. We passed through the Ministers' council-chamber. I was in a highly excited state, and felt more fear than I have experienced often when I knew that my life was in danger. At length the door of the cabinet was thrown open, and I stood before Kossuth. His appearance exceeded even all that I had imagined; but I cannot describe it: indeed, neither pen nor pencil could give an accurate idea of the profound intelligence, mingled with an undefinable expression of sorrow, that beamed from his lustrous eye. His features, which all admit to have been singularly beautiful, were now somewhat pale and care-worn; but exhibited that majestic calmness, which can arise from

a consciousness of rectitude only. He took me by the hand, and led me to the divan, where he seated himself by my side. He looked at me for a moment, and then said: "Noble lady, in the name of the Hungarian nation, our menaced fatherland, I acknowledge your patriotism. I give you most heartfelt thanks for the great sacrifices you have made, and the faithful services you have rendered to the country. Continue to assist me. Help to lighten the overwhelming burden of government by which I am oppressed. You can do me inestimable benefit; for which, I trust, I shall soon be able to convey to you the thanks of a liberated nation."

These were his words, uttered in tones of such deep melody, that they seemed to sink into and blend with the soul. I could do nothing but weep whilst he pronounced them. My whole being was moved at this unexpected eulogy from him, whose mere approval I should have deemed the highest praise. I replied to him: "Illustrious President, when I left Vienna, at the close of the popular struggle, it was with the firm resolution to consecrate myself wholly to my country, by serving her with all my power, and, if needful, by dying for her. Your great example, and the wretched condition of Hungary, have not only preserved that resolution unaltered, but have strengthened it. It makes me

happy and proud that you think I may, though a feeble woman, be useful to our native land." The conversation now turned upon the proposed mission to Galicia, for the purpose of arousing the Poles, and forming an auxiliary legion. Wovonetzky, Motoschitzky, and Thunes, explained their plan fully. Kossuth hesitated at the proposal of sending me upon so dangerous an enterprise; but I assured him I undertook it willingly, and that I would carry it into execution, or die in the attempt.

A courier was now announced, with despatches from Raab. Kossuth requested us to step into the council-chamber for a moment, whilst he read them. When we returned, after a little time, we found his features remarkably altered by the intelligence he had just received. He asked Thunes and myself at what number we estimated the Austrian forces. We agreed in the opinion that the Imperial army before Vienna had been, at first, about one hundred thousand strong; and that at present it might be about ninety thousand, as it had been diminished by casualties, and by the strong garrisons which had been left in the reconquered fortresses. In the communications which Kossuth had just received, however, these numbers were raised to one hundred and sixty thousand; and he was further informed, that it would be impossible for Raab to hold out against the disposable force which Austria could direct against that town.

He seemed greatly disturbed at these tidings, and said he would give ten thousand pounds to know the real strength and actual position of the Austrian army. I said immediately that, without any pecuniary reward, I was perfectly ready to satisfy him on that subject, by entering the enemy's camp, and making a correct survey of it; and, "My Lord President," I added, "you may depend upon the authenticity of my intelligence; for I here pledge you my word, that you shall have their number to a man, and an exact description of the ground they occupy." He seemed astonished at my offer, but said the information to be of use to him, must be obtained immediately. I told him I would leave Pesth that very night, for the Austrian camp. At length he consented that I should undertake the journey, though with evident reluctance; and as I rose to take leave, he said: "I am exceedingly anxious for your personal safety. May our God preserve you, and conduct you happily back to us once more."

I dwell with mournful satisfaction on these beautiful words. Little did we foresee, when he uttered them, that he would languish a captive in a distant land. Still, he is not dead; and the touching prayer which he offered for another on this occasion, is that which ascends daily from the heart of Hungary, on his own behalf.

## CHAPTER V.

**Expedition to ascertain the strength of the Austrians near Raab—Journey to Almatz as a sutler—Rencounter with a troop of Seressaners—A plundered inn—Another Austrian surprise defeated—A narrow escape—Night adventure with a party of Uhlans at Ikman—Opinions of a Uhlan Corporal on national affairs—And on military—Visit to the Austrian camp at Murr—The battle of Murr—Appearance of the battle from Ikman—Defeat of the Hungarians—Character of the hussars and honveds under defeat.**

I **BEGAN** my preparations immediately. The Minister of Police gave me a passport to Raab, in which I was described as an inhabitant of Pesth, and my maid as my niece; and the Finance Minister gave me an order for one thousand florins, to pay my travelling expenses. Baron Motoschitzky, and the other gentlemen interested in the enterprise, insisted upon giving me a farewell banquet, after which we took leave of one another, never to meet again.

At two o'clock in the morning my carriage rolled



through the gates of Pesth, and proceeded at a rapid pace to Neudorf, where we changed horses. Here a report reached us that the Hungarian troops had already evacuated Raab, which was soon after confirmed by a battalion of honveds, which had formed part of the garrison, and which we met on their route to Komorn. They were commanded by Captain Michowini, whom I had formerly known in Vienna, when he belonged to the Hungarian Noble-guard. He stated that Görgey was on his march through the mountains, with the intention of concentrating the army at Buda.

We reached Komorn at ten o'clock, where a delay became necessary, in order to provide ourselves with fresh passports, as those which we had obtained could not now be *viséed* at Raab. On inquiring for General Lazar and the Government Commissioner, who only could give us the necessary papers, we were informed by Count Paul Esterhazy, that they had both left the place, and that General Lazar's head-quarters were now at Nessmühl. This was a mortifying circumstance, as it necessitated our turning back again a distance of three hours. We soon found Lazar, and told him the object of our visit. He said it was a very difficult matter; that of course I could command both his services and those of the Government Commissioner; but that papers signed by them would be

useless to us, as the Austrians did not recognise any passports from places having garrisons. He sent, however, for the Mayor of a neighbouring village, which had no garrison, and asked him to make out passes for us, which he did at once; for he was, fortunately, a man thoroughly devoted to our principles. He described us in the passports as dealers in provisions from Darkoczy, a town at some distance.

We now clothed ourselves in dresses resembling those worn by the peasantry of the district, and, in accordance with our assumed characters, laid in a pretty good stock of brandy, liqueurs, &c. My papers, money, and everything of any value belonging to me, I intrusted to the care of General Lazar, and mounting in a country cart, in perfect character, drove to Almatz, where we arrived at midnight, and took up our lodgings at an inn. From thence we drove to Seen, where we were obliged to relinquish our vehicle, and pursue our way on foot, lest we should arouse the suspicions of the Austrian outposts, with which we expected to fall in every moment. For two long hours we toiled over a wild heath, without meeting a single individual, or a human habitation. This suited me very badly, as I was obliged to carry my heavy hamper on my back all the way, which was too much for my strength; and the rough wickers of the basket

cut through my dress, and wounded my back so severely, that the marks are still visible.

At length we descried upon the verge of the horizon what we concluded to be a small road-side inn. We were rejoiced at the sight, and hastened forward to avail ourselves of its hospitable shelter; but before we could reach it another object appeared in view, moving rapidly towards us, which, to our great terror, we soon found was a company of Seressaners. On they came at a wild gallop, in their blood-red uniform, in a right line with us, and only checked their horses when they came close to us. I was greatly alarmed at the appearance of these desperate marauders. I had heard innumerable tales of their savagery, and had seen something of their rude barbarity at Vienna. It was well known that neither human life, nor female honour, had any sanctity for them. They asked us, in the Croat language, whence we had come, and whither we were going. I answered, at hazard, in the Sclavonian, that we belonged to the inn just before us. With this they seemed satisfied, and with a savage shout again started off at full speed, whilst we, almost annihilated with terror, pursued our way to the inn, as it in truth proved to be. Here we found several Hungarians, who gave us a kind reception; but I was so discomposed by our meeting with this lawless band upon the wild moor,

that I could neither eat nor drink for some time. At length our agitation subsided a little, and having rested and refreshed ourselves, we resumed our journey.

We had not proceeded very far, when we were again interrupted; but this time by human beings: namely, an Austrian cavalry patrol, belonging to the Johann dragoons, and consisting of eight men, commanded by a corporal. With these we effected our first sale of brandy and cigars, and having told them that we wished to go to the Austrian camp to dispose of our stock, the corporal, a German, directed us on the way with much civility. We soon reached an inn, and as the night had already begun to fall, we resolved to remain there till morning. We found the house a complete picture of desolation, and the hostess in the utmost distress. She informed us that the Croats had broken into her place, and plundered her of everything, down to the commonest necessary of life.

She also told us that the Hungarian forces, in retiring from Raab, had had a sharp encounter with the Austrians close by her house. According to her account, the hussars and honveds were about a thousand strong. They had halted at her inn for a few hours, and were just about to resume their march, when they were suddenly attacked by a body of Austrian troops, three times their num-

ber, who were posted in some thickets, at each side of the road by which the Hungarians intended to pass. The unexpected nature of the assault caused some confusion, and compelled them to retire; but they soon recovered from their surprise, rallied their broken files, and advanced in good order against the treacherous foe. They fought with the greatest fury, each soldier behaving himself like a hero. The Austrians, at length, began to give ground, when one desperate charge, made by the whole body of our troops, decided the battle. The deadly impetuosity of the shock was such, that the enemy, though so superior in numbers, broke and fled in all directions. They were pursued and slaughtered, without mercy, by our soldiers, who were enraged at their treachery. The greater part of them fell on the very field which they had destined for the destruction of their conquerors. We could see the fatal spot for a long distance all round covered with Austrian dead, which were easily recognised by their uniforms, and which a vast multitude of peasants were engaged in burying.

As there was neither shelter nor refreshment to be obtained at this ruined and plundered inn, I determined, late as it was, to proceed to Ikman. The hostess directed us to a house there, in which she had concealed her cattle, and where she said we

could pass the night. Her son, who had just returned from thence, put his horse again into harness, and we reached Ikman safely in one hour. I learned afterwards that we had had, unconsciously, a providential escape. We were scarcely out of sight of the inn, when it was visited by a detachment of Uhlans, who gleaned every trifle which the Croats had left, and also carried off every soul they found in the house prisoners, because they had been informed that the host was favourable to the Magyars.

We reached Ikman, and were kindly received by the country people to whom the hostess had recommended us. They made the best preparations they could, at so short a notice, for our accommodation during the night; and, as we were excessively exhausted by terror and fatigue, we gladly laid ourselves down to rest. Before we could close our eyes, however, we were once more disturbed by the tramp of horses. I sprang up, drew the window-curtain, and saw, in the imperfect starlight, the white cloak of the Austrian cavalry, and, after a little time, could make out plainly a company of thirteen dragoons drawn up before the house. They began to thunder at the door, and to demand admission in violent and threatening language.

The people of the house were, by this time, all

aroused, and came to me in the greatest consternation, begging of me to speak to the soldiers, as they themselves could speak nothing but Magyar, which it would be highly dangerous to use in parleying with these savage marauders. I opened the door, and knowing that the Uhlans were raised and recruited in Austrian Poland, I addressed them in Slavonian, which seemed to make a favourable impression upon them instantly.

Our poor hostess stood by, silent and inactive, afraid to move or speak, for fear of exposing herself and family to insult and danger. The soldiers asked who she was, and perceiving that nothing but boldness and firmness could avail with such men, I answered that she was my sister-in-law, and made signs to the family of the house to retire and leave the management of our ferocious guests altogether to me. Happily, they understood me. I then, with as much cheerfulness as I could assume, invited them to enter, gave them seats, and told my maid to prepare a good meal for them in the kitchen. They were farther mollified by these attentions, and took their seats quietly.

My greatest fear was that they would get into collision with the people of the house, which would almost inevitably have caused bloodshed, if not the slaughter of both them and me. To avoid this, I kept them in conversation, paying particular defe-

rence to the corporal, who, in return, directed all his attention to me. I told them I was born in the county of Neutra, but that I now kept a provision shop at Darkoczy, a place about three hours' distant; and served up many other circumstances of easy belief as regarded myself, with which they were perfectly satisfied.

I was congratulating myself on the complete success of my *ruse*, when I noticed some movement amongst the people of the house, and heard them muttering to one another in an angry manner. I withdrew from the Uhlans for a moment, in order to ascertain the cause of this agitation, and found the host and his family in a high state of excitement. They swore they would no longer submit to seeing a noble Hungarian lady wait upon a band of robbers and murderers who had ruined the country. I soothed them as well as I could, and pointed out the deplorable consequences that would be sure to follow, both to me and to themselves, should they do anything to give offence to their savage visitors. I told them, also, that I submitted willingly to what I was doing, since I expected it would enable me to serve the cause of our fatherland, and therefore bring me far more honour than humiliation. They were pacified at length, and promised to keep themselves quiet.

My duty as hostess now recalled me to the



common room, where my wild guests were becoming clamorous for my reappearance. They determined not to go to sleep that night, but to enjoy the unexpected hospitality they had received, and led their horses into the large room, in which a tile-stove was burning, where they left them standing, saddled and bridled, all night, in consequence of the severe cold out of doors. The corporal seated himself close by me, and began to wax eloquent. He asked concerning the general opinions of the Hungarians on national affairs, and wished to know whether they were as enthusiastic as formerly for the Emperor.

"As for this Kossuth," said he, "it is well known that he is supported only by a few fanatics. Why he cannot get his orders obeyed except by force and terror. The whole population is against him. He is aiming at the Hungarian crown, as they will soon perceive. They will then rise as one man, and, with the brilliant inspiration of Hungary, the Emperor will soon scatter all his enemies before him."

I was much amused at the piquancy with which he delivered these opinions, and answered that we liked the Emperor very much; that he was handsome, and kind, and very young. That as for Kossuth, he was a perfect riddle to me; that he had some vast design in view was plain, but how

he could turn the present unhappy war to his own advantage, was not so easily seen by persons like myself. The corporal applauded my notions, and seemed willing to continue the conversation ; but I wished, if possible, to turn it upon subjects which might promote the object of my mission ; I therefore said, with apparent coolness : " There can be no doubt that this unhappy war will soon terminate. The good Emperor will speedily release us from the humiliation to which Kossuth has subjected us. Your army is brave, numerous, and well organized."

The corporal, whom I had liberally supplied with brandy, and who became every moment more loquacious and communicative, seemed much flattered, and said he was himself a Polish student, and had taken up arms in defence of his Emperor against the rebels. " Yes," cried he, " our army is all that you have stated. There is not a man in its ranks knows that better than I do. There is the right wing at Murr, twenty-six thousand strong, under Zeisberg, Jellachich, and Lüderer. Leichtenstein, Götz, and Gnirr, are on their march from Raab, at the head of seventy thousand men, which will form the centre ; and Windischgrätz is still at Raab with the left wing, consisting of twenty-six thousand men, and will probably march by Gönyö and Aoz, to form a junction with the others. When these corps are united, they will form an army of one

hundred and twenty-two thousand men ; and where, then, is the force in Hungary that can stand before them ? Besides, we have, at least, three hundred pieces of artillery in excellent order, and well served, which will soon knock the wooden cannon of the Hungarians to pieces."

I knew that this statement must be very nearly correct, and could hardly conceal my joy at the fortunate event which had put me in possession of so much valuable information. I wished to draw him out farther, and he seemed exceedingly well inclined to run on ; but we were startled in the midst of our conversation, by the trumpeter giving the signal to mount. It was already four o'clock. The troopers were soon ready to depart. The corporal told me, if I would go to the next Austrian camp, at Murr, I should be able to make large profits by the sale of my liquors, and then took a very ceremonious leave. The people of the house were overjoyed at getting rid of their lawless visitors so cheaply, and overwhelmed me with thanks for the trouble I had taken on their account. They also furnished me with a light cart and horse, to convey me to Murr, and would have loaded me with substantial tokens of their gratitude, which I was obliged to refuse. We parted from this hospitable family before break of day, and drove in the direction of Murr. At the end of two hours we alighted, and

having adjusted our hampers on our backs, sent back the vehicle, and continued our journey on foot. We arrived in sight of the Austrian camp in the cold grey dawn of a winter's morning.

My heart sank within me, as I saw the immense extent of country covered by the encampment, and formed a rough estimate of the number of soldiers it contained. I had no fear on my own account ; for I had sufficient proof the day before, that my person was entirely unknown ; but I knew that the gallant Perczel, and my countrymen, who did not amount to the third part of the Imperial forces, lay at no great distance, and intended to attack their camp, under the impression that the enemy was very much less numerous. My heart burned to fly to my countrymen, and warn them of their danger ; but the attempt would have been vain, and would have cost me my life, without doing them any service. We proceeded to the camp without any hindrance, and soon found a ready market for our cigars and brandy. When our stock was exhausted, I asked permission to go to a village, which lay about midway between the hostile encampments, for the purpose of laying in a fresh supply. I hoped to be able, from thence, to reach Perczel's camp, and give him intelligence of the overwhelming force of the enemy ; but my request was peremptorily refused.

Just as I left the Austrian camp, a movement became perceptible amongst the Hungarians, which, I knew, was preparatory to a general assault. I was not deceived; for I had not proceeded more than half-way on my return to Ikman, when I heard the first cannon-shot, which gave the signal for the sanguinary and murderous strife between the unequal foes. This was the great battle of Murr—the first pitched field in the Hungarian war of freedom, in which the cause of liberty received so severe a blow, that nothing but the most desperate bravery and heroic firmness could have retrieved it. Perczel had been directed to hold the mountain passes, and retard the march of the Austrians, until Görgey should arrive with his corps, when the junction of the two would have given them sufficient force to justify a battle; but he had mistaken his orders, and, instead of keeping to the heights, had descended, and, under a false impression of the enemy's numbers, had attacked them without waiting for any reinforcements. We ascended a hill by the way, from which we could plainly see the two armies, and even distinguish the several regiments, whenever the smoke was swept away for a short time by the breeze. The thunder of the cannon was fearful, and appeared to grow more furious every moment. The battle seemed to approach, continually, nearer to us.

We hurried forward, therefore, to Ikman, where we found the whole population assembled round the church, in order to hear the accounts, which some, who had ascended the tower, gave from time to time of the progress of the conflict. The excitement of the crowd was truly painful—it was easy to see that they wished the Hungarians to be victorious. Some wept, and some shouted, as if to encourage their champions; whilst others prayed aloud: “O, God of Hungary! grant the victory to our brave countrymen. Let this village be destroyed, if it please Thee; but save our soldiers from defeat.”

I ascended the tower myself, and obtained a position on one of the pinnacles, from which I could plainly discern the movements of the two armies. To those who have never seen large multitudes of men engaged in deadly conflict, it would be impossible to describe the sensations with which I looked upon the awful scene. The two armies were drawn up in nearly parallel lines, and from each there issued a continued stream of fire, which was all the more dreadful from being partially obscured by the smoke, that rolled upwards heavily, and formed a dark canopy above the infuriated combatants. The wind, occasionally, swept away the sulphurous clouds, and revealed the straight lines of soldiers, like stone-walls—immovable and brilliant

with fire ; but the thick, black vapour soon again hid them from our view. From time to time, we observed bodies of horsemen issue from out of the clouds of smoke, and rush up to the opposing columns ; sometimes they penetrated through them, and at others, they were received with a frightful discharge of cannon, before which they were swept back like dust. This continued for about an hour, without any perceptible change having taken place in the relative positions of the two armies. We then noticed that, at each end of the Austrian line, the stream of fire was advancing, and the whole line assuming a concave form, whilst the Hungarian fire was withdrawing at the corresponding points, and the line becoming convex.

After a little time, the two seemed to mingle together in undistinguishable confusion ; the rolling of the musquetry, and the thundering of the cannon, became indescribably furious, and then began gradually to relax, until, at length, the booming of the artillery alone was heard, at distant intervals, and then it ceased altogether. The battle was lost and won. The Hungarians, out of eight thousand men which they had brought into the field, lost one half in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The other half had been completely surrounded, and had cut their way through the enemy. It was this heroic and suc-

cessful attempt, which had kindled up afresh the vividness of the firing towards the close of the battle, and which gave the Hungarians the claim of superior valour, though victory had declared on the side of the Austrians.

The remains of our little army retreated in safety to the mountains, where they had an opportunity of reposing and recruiting themselves, after this hard-fought and disastrous day. Most other soldiers would have been discouraged, and, as it is called in military cant, demoralized by such a defeat. The hussars and honveds are made of different metal, however; no reverse can abate their courage. A check, such as they had received at Murr, rather serves to stimulate to fresh deeds of valour. They never confess a superiority in an enemy. They have the most thorough confidence in their own bravery and prowess, and attribute defeat to anything but superior excellence in these soldierly qualities. Hence no superiority of numbers will deter them from the attack: no danger, however imminent, damp the impetuous ardour of their spirit, when once they are roused to battle. Yet are they simple and docile as children to the commands of their officers; and in moments of peace, candid, humble, and generous: hospitable to excess, and full of genuine sympathy for every child of distress. Well do ye merit these praises, my gallant countrymen—the



brightest pearl of the Hungarian Crown. Had your leaders all proved as devoted to the cause of liberty, and as loyal to the fatherland as you, we should now be in full possession of national freedom, instead of wandering in distant lands to escape the fangs of the tyrant.

## CHAPTER VI.

I am mistaken for an Austrian spy at Dotis—Mystification of the Commandant and Mayor—I am sent to head-quarters under an escort—Surprise of Csányi at seeing me in disguise—My reception by the officers—Journey with Csányi and Danielis in peasants' costume—Mission from Görgey to Kossuth—Görgey's able plan for the conduct of the war—Arrival at Pesth on the last night of the year—Appearance of Pesth—Interview with Kossuth—Hasty departure of the Government from Pesth to Debreczin—Unfortunate separation of Csányi from Görgey, and its cause—A public reception—General Lazar goes over to the Austrians—His reception.

IN deep sadness of heart at the events of the day, we resumed our journey. We dared not return by the way we had come, for our army was in full retreat, and the whole country in possession of the enemy. We were obliged, therefore, to abandon our kiggage at Nessmühl, and to proceed on foot to Dotis, where I hoped we should have been able to procure some means of conveyance to Pesth. We advanced towards Dotis with our empty baskets on our backs ; and although we were stopped and

questioned on the way, we reached that town in safety.

The inhabitants were thoroughly Magyar, and the Austrian garrison had evacuated the place, fearing that the Hungarians would return, and cut them off, as they were at a distance from the main body of the Imperialists, and could not be speedily reinforced in case of a sudden attack. I felt a general sense of security and comfort at being in the midst of a population so well affected to the cause to which I had devoted myself; and having had so much hardship recently, determined that myself and my maid should lodge comfortably for this night at least.

We therefore proceeded to the principal hotel in the town, and asked for apartments. The landlord, a pompous gentleman, very proud evidently of his hotel, with all that belonged to it, including landlord and waiters, placed his hands behind his back, and considered us attentively, without making any reply, for a minute or so. I began to grow indignant at his superciliousness, and said: "Will you have the goodness to tell us whether we can have apartments here or not?"

"Apartments? apartments?" said he; "apartments I have, it is true; but oh, they are not for people who come dressed as you are."

I had forgotten that we had still our peasants'

dresses on. I assured him he should be as well paid as if we were better dressed ; but he still shook his head, though not so peremptorily as at the beginning. At last I showed him a handful of gold, which completed the conquest, and he led us to a very handsome room, manifestly puzzled at seeing so much money in the hands of a coarsely-dressed peasant woman, and still more at her wishing to expend it in such a way. I increased his perplexity by ordering a very good supper, which he went away to get prepared. In the interim, I made some alterations in my toilette, such as washing off the brown dye with which I had coloured my face and hands, and getting my hair arranged by my maid ; my clothes I could not change, as we had left all our things at Nessmühl.

When our host returned, and saw the alteration in our appearance, he seemed perfectly bewildered, but kept a politic silence, merely saying that supper was ready. He went away, and we sat down to our meal ; but had hardly tasted the good things before us, when four soldiers of the National Guard entered, and demanded our legitimization-papers. I saw at once that they took me for an Austrian spy, and thought they had made an important capture. I resolved to see how they would carry the matter out.

On their renewing their demand for our papers, I said therefore, that we were much fatigued, and

did not wish to be incommoded, and that we would not show our passports to any one except to the Commandant, or chief magistrate of the town. Upon receiving this decided refusal, they left us, and very soon after the commanding-officer of the National Guard and the Mayor of the town were announced, and conducted by the landlord into my room, whilst the corridor outside it was filled with National Guards.

They were extremely polite, and full of excuses for the trouble they were giving me. They took my papers, and read them through; then turned them in all directions, and looked at them in every possible way. The papers were perfectly regular, but suspicion had taken full possession of their minds, and no proofs could have removed it. Had I entirely discovered myself, though well known in the place, I do not think they would have believed me; and I was unwilling, by such a step, to compromise the President and the Government without any urgent necessity. I confess there was also a spice of mischief in my letting them flounder on in what appeared to them such a mystery. I was asked what sort of person the officer was who had made out our passports. I described him accurately. Fresh embarrassment.

The Mayor stood opposite to me, shifting his hands in and out of his pockets, not knowing what

to do, unwilling to go away, and without any proper excuse for staying. His bewilderment increased so, whilst I looked on in perfect calmness, that at last his figure became quite ludicrous, and I could hardly keep myself from laughing aloud. To mystify him still more, I said: "Your brother desires to be remembered to you, Mr. Mayor. He is a prisoner in the Austrian camp, where I have had the honour of seeing him, and speaking to him." This completed the disorder of the poor man's intellect; he knew not what to say or think concerning me, and I fear he had even some notions derogatory of my human nature.

At last I ended the difficulty, by saying: "You evidently regard me as a highly suspicious character; you had better, therefore, place a guard upon my lodgings for this night, and in the morning you can send me to the Hungarian head-quarters under an escort, where Csányi and Görgey will clear up everything to your satisfaction. Even this they looked upon as only a bold stroke under desperate circumstances; but they accepted the suggestion, excusing themselves at the same time on the plea of duty, for their apparent harshness. I thanked them for their courteous behaviour, and said I rejoiced to know that Hungary possessed such vigilant and loyal citizens. They then took their leave, and soon after we heard the measured tramp of a sentinel in front of the hotel.

Early the next morning a carriage drove up to the door; we entered it, accompanied by a National Guard, and proceeded to the Hungarian headquarters at Bieske. The soldier who formed our escort was a kind-hearted man, and seemed to pity us very much. He showed his compassion by saying to me: "If you have really come from the Austrian camp, you had better tell me all about it; for, although Csányi is very severe, yet, if you make a confession before seeing him, and show great sorrow for what you have done, he may be softened somewhat."

I thanked him for his kind intentions, and said I had already told everything. We found Csányi lodged in the castle of Count Casimir Bathyanyi. It was Sunday, and the streets were filled with multitudes of country people, who had come in from the surrounding district to attend to their devotions, and also to hear news of the great events which were agitating the country. The report of our arrival, and the mysterious circumstances under which we had come, was rapidly circulated, and we were soon surrounded by an immense crowd, eager to see the Austrian spy.

We had some difficulty in making our way through the multitude. At length we arrived at the castle, and the first persons whom we recognised were Görgey's brother Stephen, and Degrad; they

were coming out of the court-yard, and also recognised us immediately, laughing heartily at my disguise. The escort stood by all the time, thoroughly confounded at our reception by these distinguished officers. They conducted me into the castle, my guard still following, in the discharge of his duty.

In the ante-room we met Csányi's secretary, whom I begged to announce me without mentioning my name, as I wished to see the effect of my disguise on the Commissioner. We waited for some time whilst Csányi was despatching some business in his cabinet; but as he delayed longer than I expected, my patience began to fail, and I entered the cabinet at once; the officers pushed me aside, but I made my way up to his desk. He looked at me with astonishment, and bade me say what I had to say at once. I told him that I wished to speak with him in private. He immediately requested the officers to leave us. The doors were closed, and thinking it time to bring the comedy to an end, I took off my country head-dress, and said: "Do you know the Baroness von Beck?" The old gentleman started back with astonishment, and it was some time before he could recover from his surprise.

When I explained the circumstances under which I had come from the enemy's camp, and the mistake



to which I was indebted for my military escort, he laughed immoderately, and then commenced abusing the faithful burgesses of Dotis in a fearful manner. After that he turned upon myself, and blamed me for exposing my life in such enterprises. He asked me if I had had a commission to undertake so daring and terrible an adventure, and was taking me to task most severely, when I stopped him by saying that it was chiefly his own fault, for sending an account of the Austrian forces to the Government on the 27th, in which they were made to amount to one hundred and sixty thousand men, a number much beyond their actual strength. That this report had greatly perplexed the President, as it was contradictory of other information he had received, and that, to put the matter out of all dispute, I had pledged myself to bring Kossuth an authentic report of the strength and position of the enemy from personal observation. I then gave him all the intelligence I had obtained, and described the battle of Murr, as I had seen it. He opened the door with much emotion, and having called in the officers, presented me to them with these words :

“My Lords and Gentlemen, I have the honour to make known to you one of Hungary’s worthiest children. You see before you the Baroness von Beck.” The gentlemen crowded round me, and their compliments and congratulations knew no

bounds. My escort, who stood by all this time, lost all desire to inquire further about my passports. I relieved him from his embarrassment, by giving him ten florins, and telling him to present my compliments to the Town-Major, and Mayor of Dotis, and to say that, when next I visited their town, I should feel it an honour to be better acquainted with such faithful and devoted Hungarians.

We left Bieske at one o'clock, in an open carriage, accompanied by Csányi, Colonel Danielis, and several other gentlemen; my maid and I still dressed in our peasant costume, which gave occasion to innumerable jests and much pleasantry, especially whenever we met any detachments of our troops on the way. They were astonished to see countrywomen travelling in such a style, and in such company; and did not hesitate to express their surprise to us in their own way, whilst we answered them in character, to the great amusement of our companions. We reached the head-quarters of Görgey at seven o'clock, and found him lodged in the castle at Prematorie: Csányi introduced me to him at once. I explained the reason of my coming in such a dress, and described to him the battle of Murr, which seemed to make a profound impression upon him. He remained for some time plunged in reflection, and then asked me if I would bear a message from him

to Kossuth. I consented, and he then told me to inform the President that it was his (Görgey's) absolute opinion, that, after the loss of such a battle as that of Murr, it would be impossible to hold Buda and Pesth, in the face of the overwhelming force which the enemy could now bring against them. That his plan was to manœuvre, so as to induce the belief amongst the Austrians that he intended to march upon Presburg, and even to threaten Vienna itself.

He knew, he said, that this would altogether derange the plans of the Imperialist Generals; that he would take advantage of their confusion to proceed to Waitzen, where he would alter his line of march, and throw himself into the mountain cities, whither it was most probable the enemy would follow him in force. That this would give the Hungarian Government time and opportunity to concentrate, on the Theiss, an army sufficiently strong to defeat the Imperialists on every point, and thus save the country. Görgey was then a faithful servant of his fatherland, and his plan was, for a time, its salvation.

I arrived at Pesth about eleven o'clock at night, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Pustelnic, who was probably charged with a similar message to Kossuth. It was a bitterly cold night, the very last of the year. I thought of the mighty change

which had taken place in my relations and circumstances. This night, I used to look forward to with delight in former times ; it was a season consecrated to all the little offices of love and friendship. The point of transit from one period of time to another, was deemed an appropriate opportunity for renewing the bonds of family affection—forgetting old coldnesses, and confirming long-tried constancy and amity. How often had I passed its hours at the *soirées* of persons whom I once called friends in Vienna, but whom I now sought to destroy, not through hatred, but through a stern sense of duty to my native land.

One of the greatest curses of war is the bitter antagonism into which it brings even those who once regarded one another with sterling friendship. A bitter pang passed through my heart as I thought of the many kindly and gentle ties which it had broken, in my case ; but I felt it to be a sad necessity ; my confidence in the rectitude of the principles which guided me was unshaken, and in the sacredness of the cause to which I had devoted myself. When my country and these acquaintances were irreconcilably opposed, I had no hesitation in my choice between the two. But it was these quondam friends who had kindled the flames of this disastrous war ; it was they who had incited bands of robbers and murderers, under the name of soldiers, to ravage our peaceful fields and hamlets, and

had driven our peasantry from innocent and profitable occupations, to exchange the sickle and the crook for weapons of carnage and death ; it was they who had expressed themselves determined to effect the humiliation and ruin of the land of my fathers. To defeat their object, I was willing to lay down my own life, and ready to do anything in honour which could baffle their hated enterprise.

The Danube was not yet frozen over, and the bridge of boats, which formerly connected the sister cities of Buda and Pesth, had been removed. As there were no means, therefore, of transporting the carriage, we were obliged to relinquish it, and cross the river by the suspension bridge on foot. Arrived at the other side, we engaged a *fiacre*, and drove directly to Kossuth's residence.

The city of Pesth, formerly so joyous at this season of the year, was silent as a city of the dead ; no light broke the gloom that overspread it, no music disturbed the solemn stillness of its streets. The outward aspect of the city was but too faithful an index of its real condition. The inhabitants had no heart for the gaiety, which in happier times characterised their engagements on Saint Sylvester's night. A dumb and comfortless sentiment seemed to pervade all minds, and sadly presaged the cruel fate which hovered over the devoted city, and which soon descended upon it in unmitigated fury.

Kossuth's ante-room was crowded with persons

anxious to speak with him. My dress, as may be supposed, awakened their liveliest curiosity. The secretary, Szölözy, recognised me at once, and having announced me, I was immediately admitted to the audience-chamber of the President. Kossuth was sadly affected by the bad tidings which just then reached him from many quarters. He had hardly time to thank me for my services. He told me he had commissioned Prince Wovonetzky to see that I was properly furnished with everything necessary for my mission to Galicia. He then begged me to send him all my intelligence by courier to Debreczin in a written form, as the Government would leave Pesth within an hour, and he was fearfully pressed for time.

I promised to do so ; and lest he should not see Colonel Pustelnic, I communicated Görgey's message as rapidly as possible. He seemed to approve of the plan, but honoured me with the remark, that it would have been better not to leave Pesth so suddenly, as the Austrians could not possibly reach it in less than six days, which would give us ample opportunity to remove all our vast stores of arms, ammunition, and baggage, by means of the railroad, and the hundreds of waggons which were at our command. He then gave me his blessing, and we separated.

It appears, that the members of both the Diet and the Government were afraid that the Austrians

would storm the town, and had therefore urged Kossuth, in opposition to his own better judgment, to this sudden departure; the consequence of which was, that all the vast stores which had been accumulated for the use of the Hungarian army fell into the hands of the enemy. I must here narrate one circumstance, which will serve to illustrate upon what small, and to our imperfect apprehension insignificant, events hang the destinies of nations and of ages. Csányi had requested me to tell Kossuth, that it was absolutely necessary for them to meet on the next morning by nine o'clock at latest, in order to confer on matters of great importance. I had not time to deliver the message, and Kossuth left without any knowledge of it. The consequence of this was, that Csányi was obliged to follow him to Debreczin, from whence he was not again able to join Görgey's army, which daily removed farther and farther from the seat of Government.

Görgey, from this time, began to treat the Government with disrespect, contravened its orders, traversed its plans, and at length assumed a complete independence of its control. Had the wise and honourable-minded Csányi remained with Görgey, he would never have become a traitor. Csányi knew him thoroughly, and possessed great influence over him: with such a counsellor by his side, Görgey would never have allowed his insub-

ordinate and uncontrollable egotism to have so mastered his spirit, that for its gratification he could revolve thoughts of treason against his country, enter into correspondence with its enemies, and at last sacrifice his honour by the shameful surrender at Villagos. But these were circumstances which no human eye could foresee, and yet do they stand intimately connected with the timid councils which urged so precipitate a flight from Pesth. It is true, that Görgey was afterwards accompanied by other commissioners, who were upright and honourable men; but they did not possess sufficient knowledge of military affairs, and were especially deficient in those mental qualities, which might have checked this overweening arrogance, and either prevented or defeated the faithless plans of the betrayer of Hungarian freedom.

On my return to my hotel, I found that my maid had been spreading abroad the story of our adventurous visit to the enemy's camp, in consequence of which, a large company had assembled, who received me with the heartiest congratulations, and requested my presence at an entertainment which they had prepared to do me honour. The next morning Csányi paid me an early visit; he appeared much excited at finding that the Government had already departed to Debreczin. "I must



follow," said he, "and leave Lutzinsky in my place." He did so, and we know the consequences. Soon afterwards, Prince Wovonetzky and Captain Thunes entered. The conversation turned upon the aspect of affairs generally. Csányi then told us for the first time, that General Lazar had sent in his resignation to the Hungarian Government. He had been persuaded to this step by his father-in-law, General Moga, who was a thorough Imperialist. But there is no doubt that Lazar himself had begun to despair of a successful issue to the Hungarian struggle, and wished to make his peace in time. He had miscalculated, however, for no sooner did he fall into the hands of the Austrians, than he was condemned to ten years' imprisonment in the fortress of Kuffstein.

## CHAPTER VII.

Opinions of the Hungarian Magnates concerning an arrangement with Austria—Windischgrätz's conduct at Pesth—He robs the Bank—Preparations for my Gallician mission—I assume the character of an actress—Journey to Szigeth—Cause of the defeat at Kaschau—Distress of Meszaros—I cross the Gallician frontier alone—The Lemberg manager—Means taken to prevent the Poles from reaching Hungary—Arrival at Cracow—Another manager—Success of my mission to the Poles—Return to Szigeth—Message from Kossuth—Address to a recruiting party—Arrival at Debreczin—Patriotism of Debreczin—Interview with Kossuth—Kossuth proposes a mission in search of Görgey—His personal influence.

MANY of the highest magnates, amongst others, Csányi, and Count Louis Bathyanyi, the Prime Minister, were at this time of opinion that a deputation should be sent to Windischgrätz, with proposals for an arrangement, in which the principal demand on the part of Hungary should be a guarantee for the integrity of the constitution, as sanctioned by the Emperor Ferdinand. Windischgrätz, however, would hear nothing. He rejected

all overtures, and committed the most cruel barbarities in both Buda and Pesth. All the labourers who were *convicted* of having worked for the Hungarian authorities, were condemned to long terms of imprisonment. A poor tailor, in the König-Strasse, was found *guilty* of having made the Hungarian tri-colour banner, and though he had a wife and nine young children depending upon him for bread, was immediately shot without mercy by Windischgrätz's direct order. Nothing seemed too mean or insignificant to escape the ravening vengeance of the frightened and exasperated despotism. The most minute inquiries were made concerning the conduct of the inhabitants, whilst the Hungarians held possession of the town. A constant system of espionage upon the private affairs of the poor people was maintained, in comparison with which the inquisition of the middle ages was humane and tolerant. Covered waggons rolled continually through the streets; nobody knew whence they came, nor whither they were going; nor could the nature of their contents have been divined, did not an occasional groan, or cry of anguish, betray the fact that they were laden with human victims to the blood-thirsty rage of the Austrian hireling. One shameful deed of Windischgrätz ought to be held up to the universal reprobation of mankind. The credit of the Hungarian paper-money had been

secured, by a large quantity of bullion in the bank, to which the Hungarian ladies had added their ornaments, jewels, and other valuables, to an immense amount. The notes circulated freely ; they were received in perfect good faith, and even the Emperor Ferdinand himself sanctioned their currency. Windischgrätz's first step, after he had taken possession of Pesth, was to plunder the bank, and confiscate the whole of the bullion, without any reference to the innocence or guilt of the owners.

This was an act of public robbery, for the property thus seized did not belong to one political party more than to another ; it was placed there for security by persons in all parts of the country, who vainly confided in the sanctity of the Imperial word. The notes were still in the hands of the people, and might have supported a claim for restitution at some future time ; but Windischgrätz destroyed all hope from that source, by crying down the paper-money, under the pretext that it had been issued on the credit of the "rebel Government." He then issued notes of his own, the payment of which was secured upon the revenue of Hungary, with his own unsupported guarantee.

Let the reader strain the licence of war to the utmost extent, and he will scarcely find an excuse for such a shameless violation of all principles of common justice. But this was not all : Windisch-

grätz actually allowed his officers to pay all their bills in the very paper which he had prohibited to their creditors. Thus were the Hungarians robbed in three different ways. First, their bullion was carried off; and then the paper, which represented it, was proclaimed valueless; and, finally, the paper, thus deprived of value, was forced upon them in exchange for the products of their industry, and for what remained of their property; nor dared they to refuse it, at the hazard of outrage, or perhaps death: add to this, that these inconceivable and unparalleled acts of oppression were accompanied with the grossest insolence and contumely, and it will be easy to understand why Hungary hates the rule of the House of Hapsburg. I have mentioned these things, lest the reader should be at a loss to account for the intense hostility which animated me against the Austrian Government.

I had now before me a fresh enterprise, which greatly exceeded in difficulty any in which I had yet engaged. The reader will remember that I had undertaken to disseminate amongst the Poles, in Gallicia, the proclamation which Prince Wovonetzky had prepared, calling upon them to enrol themselves into an auxiliary legion, for the assistance of Hungary, in her struggle against the common tyrant, and enemy of national freedom. It was the depth of winter. Many parts of Gallicia

were devoted to the Crown of Austria, and the whole frontier was covered with the Imperial forces; so that a wide *détour* was necessary to avoid them. The fatigues and dangers I had to contemplate, were therefore neither few nor small.

A principal question was, what rank shall I assume? In what character or quality shall I make my appearance? Shall I go as if I were on a tour of pleasure?—The severity of the weather forbade it; no one could be imposed upon by such a pretence at that season of the year. Shall we resume our old character of peasant women?—We were not in possession of the necessary costume for that part of the country. Would it be possible for us to pass through the Austrian lines as camp-suttlers?—We were not sufficiently acquainted with the customs of the country, and the habits of the people, to sustain the character at such a distance. At last, after a great deal of consideration, we came to the resolution that it would be best for me to travel in the character of an actress: in which, any deviation from the dress, language, or manners of the districts through which we might pass, would be easily overlooked. We had no sooner determined upon our plan, than we set about its execution. We purchased dresses to suit the character of ladies of rank. I had cards engraved with my *nom de guerre*, and obtained certificates from two well-

known managers, who must be nameless. With these evidences of my histrionic identity, and a good passport, I considered myself well provided against detection. A more difficult matter was the transmission of the proclamations, amounting to many hundred copies, and altogether of considerable bulk.

I procured a large trunk, and laid the proclamations on the bottom of it, in regular rows of equal thickness. I then covered the whole with a large sheet of pasteboard, which fitted the trunk exactly; and as the papers beneath did not rise very high, it looked perfectly like the real bottom. I then caused the whole trunk to be lined afresh, so that the bottom and sides presented precisely the same appearance; and having filled it with my "properties," I felt certain that the sharpest eye could not discover anything suspicious. My little comrade was this time in her own natural character. I did not think it necessary to alter anything about her, as it was suitable to my *quasi* profession to be attended by my own maid.

We left Pesth on the 1st of January, 1849, accompanied by Prince Wovonetzky, and the Polish officers already mentioned. They intended to proceed as far as Szigeth, the last frontier town, and there to await the result of my activity; and, if necessary, to receive the volunteers, and place them

in training for the new legion. We reached Miskolcz on the 3rd, in the neighbourhood of which, at Kaschau, we lost a great battle through treason. The county is inhabited chiefly by Slaves, who were hostile to the cause of Hungary, and who had been influenced against the government of Kossuth by placards and hand-bills, containing the most monstrous falsehoods, and absurd misrepresentations concerning his intentions. These papers were disseminated amongst the people, in great numbers, by the landed proprietors, and Count Scirmy showed himself especially zealous amongst these missionaries of untruth. Their devotion to the cause of feudal despotism did not rest here. They enlisted troops, which they gave out were intended to reinforce the Hungarian War Minister, Meszaros, who commanded in the battle; but at the decisive moment, they sent them over in a body to the Imperial Field-Marshal, Schlick. The fanaticized inhabitants, also, led a portion of Schlick's troops through the mountain-passes to the rear of Meszaros' position, so that, seeing himself between two fires, and deserted by a large body of his troops, he was obliged to order a retreat, and leave the field to the enemy. His loss in the battle was trifling, but it rendered imperative the evacuation of the city of Kaschau, which fell into the hands of the Austrians, and thus necessitated a total change in the plan of



the campaign, the original object of which was to drive Schlick back into Galicia.

We visited Meszaros, and found him sorely distressed at the result of the day. He lamented that he should have outlived his renown in this unfortunate battle. We strove to soothe the wounded feelings of the old hero, and told him that the Government and people of Hungary, would know well how to decide where the blame lay. That they would honour his fidelity and heroism, and attribute its want of success to the true cause—the faithlessness of the grandees of the county. We continued our journey, leaving the grey-headed and gallant old hussar a prey to bitter mortification, at what he called his disgrace.

Not knowing the position of Schlick's corps, we were obliged to proceed with the utmost caution, and to make frequent *détours*. We were compelled to be all the more circumspect, because Wovonetzky had brought with him a large quantity of arms for the new legion. During the whole of the journey I rode a good distance in advance of the rest, in order to reconnoitre, and to give the alarm in case of danger. We reached Szigeth on the 11th, where the peculiar difficulties of my portion of the enterprise were to commence. Here I left everything superfluous, and separated myself from my travelling companions the same evening. I

had some difficulty in crossing the frontier, for I expected to find the way clear, and had prepared myself for the inspection of my passport only ; but, to my great disappointment, I found it occupied by the Hartman regiment, and had to undergo a very severe examination, in which I told them, that at present in Hungary the times were extremely unfavourable to the stage, as a proof of which, nearly all the theatres were shut up, and that I wished to seek an engagement in Lemberg, which I had heard was as yet undisturbed by the war. After sending me from the military pass-office to the civil pass-office, and back again repeatedly, they at length allowed me to proceed, and I went on to Sambor, from whence I proceeded the next day to Przémysl. I had the addresses of persons in both towns, to whom I gave parcels of my proclamations, and who circulated them widely. They were read with the greatest avidity, and created an enthusiastic feeling in favour of the Hungarians.

I now proceeded to Lemberg, where I felt it necessary, for the consistency of my character, to seek an engagement at the theatre. I went, therefore, to the manager, and asked him to assign me a part, in which I might make my *début*, in his theatre ; but, at the same time, asked an immoderately high salary and good security for its payment. He was astounded at the extravagance of my

terms, but was extremely polite, and said he regretted very much he could not then engage me, as the drama was in a very depressed condition. I thanked him for his courtesy, and took my leave. My object was accomplished. I had now the legitimate character of an actress, and was at perfect liberty to serve my country, under the shelter of my histrionic name.

Forty young men had already pledged themselves to the cause of freedom, and were only waiting for the intelligence which I brought, for they were acquainted previously with Wovonetzky's plan. My proclamation was the signal for their departure, and they all succeeded in reaching the place of rendezvous. This was a matter of no small difficulty, for the whole country was laid for them, and a reward of fifteen florins offered to every one who should deliver up a Pole taken in the act of travelling towards Hungary. From Lemberg I proceeded to Cracow, where I was honourably received, and treated with the most affectionate attention by the patriotic friends to whom I brought letters of introduction. The ladies with whom I lodged, introduced me to one of the principal managers, with whom, as the reader will suppose, I contrived to be again successfully unsuccessful in my application for an engagement. I met with many noble and esteemed acquaintances in Cracow; amongst the

rest, the Countess Dembinski, *née* Princess Csar-toriska. I was loaded with compliments and praises by them all, and especially by those who had friends and relatives in the Hungarian army, from whom I had brought letters. I was regarded almost as an angel by many a sorrowing wife and mother.

My proclamation produced a powerful effect here also, and a great number pledged themselves to the service of Hungary. In short, my mission had thoroughly succeeded; and as my proclamations were now all distributed, and the alarm could not fail soon to be given to the Austrian Government, I thought it unsafe to remain any longer. I returned, therefore, to Lemberg; but as I had, on my approach to this town, distributed a vast number of papers, I dared not return by the same route. I was obliged, therefore, to make a circuit of a hundred and eighty English miles, in the severest depths of winter, in order to avoid the enemy's posts. I passed through Czernowitz, and traversed the Bukovina and Transylvania, in the direction of Bistritz, and thence through the Marmorocz to Szigeth, where I arrived on the 29th of January, 1849.

The two Wovonetzskys and the other Polish officers were anxiously waiting for my return. They had already received many recruits, and when I told them of my success, their joy knew no bounds. They got up a banquet in my honour, and

seemed as if they could not sufficiently express their admiration of my humble services, one exciting toast followed another, and the company were animated with the most hopeful anticipations for the future. I could not myself resist the enthusiasm of the moment altogether; but I thought how soon may all this be changed for the dying groans of the battle-field, or the solitary stillness of the dungeon. The thought was, alas! prophetic of the destiny that awaited many of those brave and joyous hearts. But in the struggle for life and liberty, we must venture all and dare all. Before the conclusion of the banquet, a courier arrived with despatches for Prince Wovonetzky. He opened one of the letters, and having read it, handed it to me. It was from Kossuth, begging that I might be sent to the seat of Government, at Debreczin, as soon as I should return from my Polish expedition. I bade the courier say to Kossuth, that I would set out on the following day.

I now laid myself down to rest, and being relieved from all immediate anxiety, I enjoyed a long and refreshing slumber, from which I awoke the next morning greatly strengthened and exhilarated. My first business was with Prince Wovonetzky, who paid me an early visit, in order to receive my intelligence in a more precise and detailed manner than the excitement of the preceding evening permitted.

Whilst conferring with him, I heard music in the lower corridor of the hotel, and on inquiring what it meant, was informed that it was a party recruiting for a new jager battalion, and that they were waiting for me to open the ceremony, and to present them their colours. I laughed heartily at the idea of my becoming a recruiting-officer, but the Prince begged of me to gratify the soldiers, by acceding to their request, and said that they considered it of more importance than I might suspect. Seeing him in earnest, and having no special reason to refuse, I consented to play my part in this new character, and descended, leaning on the arm of the Prince. There was an immense crowd of young men at the door, who received me with enthusiastic cheering. The officer of the recruiting party handed me the colours. I waved them three times, and, in the midst of the most profound silence, spoke nearly as follows: "Children, the freedom of Hungary is threatened. Savage hordes of robbers have violated its sacred soil. They have been sent to plunder your homes, and to deprive you of liberty and honour. The fatherland requires your aid. Many of its gallant sons have already responded to our call. The honveds and hussars are striking terror into the hearts of our tyrants. Will not you do so likewise?"

The most vivid acclamations followed this appeal;

and for several minutes the cry of "Eljen Kossuth !" was prolonged by the multitude. "Think, then," I continued, "of your forefathers, who were always armed to defend the land of their homes, and proved their devotion to it in many a sanguinary battle. Go, be generous and brave, like them ; and this banner shall always be the symbol of victory."

Again the cheering was renewed ; and when I handed back the colours to the officer, numbers of young men crowded round me, each eager to pledge himself to the cause of freedom, by kissing my hand. In less than two hours I enlisted two hundred and thirty men. Wovonetzky was astonished at my success, not more, however, than I was myself. He thanked me heartily, and said that it would have been impossible for him to create such a feeling as I had done, by showing that ladies could understand and take an active part in the great quarrel.

I now took leave of Prince Wovonetzky, and set out for Debreczin, where we arrived on the 2nd of February. A change, almost magical, seemed to have taken place in the aspect of the city ; formerly, it was a dull, gloomy-looking place ; now, it was animated by the presence of the Government, and enlivened by the splendid uniforms of staff-officers and aides-de-camp, as well as the brilliant and

fashionable equipages of the nobility and gentry. The patriotism of this wealthy town lent a powerful impulse to our cause. The citizens had raised and maintained at their own expense, during the war, a regiment of infantry twelve hundred strong, and one of cavalry eight hundred strong, both excellently disciplined and equipped. Every six weeks they recruited the losses of both regiments, so that they were kept up to their full strength constantly.

On the next morning, I went to the Stadt-house, in which Kossuth resided, where I soon found myself in a throng of equipages, and surrounded on every side by crowds of persons, some attracted to the spot by curiosity, and others by business. I saw Szölözy the Secretary of the President, who went immediately to announce me, and soon after returned and introduced me to Kossuth's presence. He received me with much emotion, and said: "I have been in severe distress on your account, and am greatly relieved by seeing you again in safety."

I told him of my success in Gallicia, and handed him a despatch from Wovonetzky, in which the Prince informed him of my successful recruiting at Szigeth. "So you have also enlisted the first company of the new corps," said he; "well if they imitate your courage and love of freedom,



noble woman, they need have little fear of the enemy."

I thanked him heartily for his flattering opinion, and I trust the reader will not ascribe it to mere egotism that I record these opinions here: alas! they are all that remain to me of the splendid visions of freedom and national greatness which I thought myself engaged in reducing to reality. But yet it is something to have gained the approval of a pure and heroic mind in our efforts to accomplish a great object; nor will the reader, I feel sure, deny me the gratification that springs from such a source. It cannot, for me, effect any other object. Kossuth proceeded to say.

"I have now to intrust you with an affair of the deepest importance. I am totally destitute of information concerning the movements of the army under Görgey's command; I have even some apprehension that it is entirely dispersed, for I have now sent fifteen couriers to obtain some intelligence of it, and they have all returned without being able to ascertain anything. I know of no one in whose fidelity I can more thoroughly confide to help me in this embarrassment than in yours. I feel the unreasonableness of taxing your courage and patriotism with a charge which fifteen men have failed to fulfil; yet I must make the request: In the name of our grievously oppressed fatherland,

will you, my dear Baroness, undertake this mission? I know I can depend upon you."

How shall I describe my feelings at being addressed in this manner by the father of his country, whom I honoured and admired with my whole soul. I had manifestly gained his entire confidence, and the thought thrilled through my heart; I could almost have died with joy; I could not speak; I wept aloud, and it appeared to me glorious to lay down my life for my fatherland at the command of its illustrious President. I consented joyfully to his proposal, and he requested me to come again the next morning, that we might perfect our arrangements relative to the subject of our conversation. In the ante-room I was surrounded by a crowd of officers, eager to hear some account of my Gallician enterprise. I found it no easy matter to satisfy their curiosity; but at length I succeeded in some measure, and returned to my hotel.

I was thoroughly exhausted. My four weeks' journey, at that severe season of the year, through bad roads, and frequently on foot, exposed to the inclemency of the weather; the many sleepless nights I had passed, and the violent transitions of feeling I had experienced, from the most joyful emotions to the terrors of death, had at length overpowered my strength both of mind and body.

I was not in a condition to bear, with firmness, the exciting conversation of this evening: I felt as if my life was forsaking me, and I was ready to dissolve and pass away for ever from this mingled scene of holy purposes and base selfishness; but I had won the confidence of the lofty and heroic Kossuth. It was a cordial which recalled me to existence, and animated me with fresh strength and courage to encounter new and unknown dangers, for the sake of my beloved native land.

With what pleasure did I acknowledge to myself the influence which this exalted being exercised upon me! Often had I noticed how it pervaded the people whom I had met on my journeys in all parts of the country, like some spiritual influence; and it was truly the spirit of freedom breathing through a human organization, inspiring all the land with unshaken confidence in the righteousness of his cause, and the justice of his principles, and animating the entire population with a contempt of danger, and with feelings of self-sacrifice similar to his own. My thoughts took a higher flight; I anticipated the speedy termination of the present war; I saw Hungary victorious over all her enemies, and in full possession of the object for which she had drawn the sword. I saw her people independent, great, and flourishing; her fields blooming and beautiful, and vocal once more with the songs

of peace; her splendid rivers covered with the tokens of commercial wealth, and the rapid steam-train hurrying along her vast plains, bearing to foreign marts the products of her native genius and industry. It was a vision, but it was one on which I dwelt with ecstasy at the moment, and on which I look back with unspeakable grief that it proved but a vision.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Visit from Field-Marshal Kiss—Destruction of his property by the Croats—My maid—Dinner at Field-Marshal Kiss's—Instructions from Kossuth respecting my mission to Görgey—Departure from Debreczin, and arrival at Leck—Interview with Dembinski—Arrival at Tokay—Klapka's head-quarters—Görgey's plan for attacking Schlick frustrated by Dembinski—Klapka and Schlick—Battle of Tokay—Bad spirit in the county of Saross—Austrian misrepresentations of Hungary—Schlick tampers with the Saross Justices of Peace—Base conduct of this county—Austrian bombast—Reflections on the difference between the lie of an individual, and the lie of a government—Character of Schlick.

THE next morning I received a very polite message from Field-Marshal Kiss, desiring permission to wait upon me on the evening of the same day, to which I replied that a visit from the gallant Marshal would do me much honour. At the appointed hour he arrived. His was a noble and a kind heart. He had long breathed the atmosphere of a court, and his manners were exquisitely polished. He welcomed me cordially to

Debreczin. I gave him a circumstantial account of my recent expedition, of what I had observed of the popular feeling in Gallicia towards Hungary, and what we had to expect from that quarter. He then told me that his estates, which lay on the frontiers of Servia, had been barbarously ravaged and destroyed by the Croats.

Kiss was a very rich man, and a munificent patron of the fine arts. Whilst serving with the army in Italy he had spared no pains nor expense in procuring the noblest treasures of art. He had enriched his various residences with numerous Italian master-pieces of immense value; but the savage Vandals of Croatia had destroyed them all. The statues were broken in pieces, and pictures of the rarest merit, for which no price would have been extravagant, were torn into shreds. The frescos on the walls and ceilings were either pulled down or defaced. His cattle were all carried off; and what these barbarous plunderers could not remove, they burned to ashes.

He regretted exceedingly the irrecoverable destruction of these invaluable memorials of genius; as for all the rest, he said, time would repair the damage that had been done. He extracted a promise from me that I would dine with him the next day, which rather interfered with the preparations for my journey in search of Görgey. However, I had

pretty well concluded them, and left what remained to be done to my maid, with strict injunctions to be ready to leave Debreczin on the 5th. I may here say that this dear girl clung to me with the most disinterested and unshaken love.

When we made our first journey together, which was that to the Austrian encampment at Murr, her mind was entirely overcome by the desperate fear of death; and on our return, she told me that she did not believe herself capable of passing through another trial of a similar kind without dying of mere terror. This was a case where reasoning was useless; the girl was willing and eager to accompany me, but her nature ceded to imminent danger in despite of her will. I took the precaution ever afterwards of leaving her in a place of security whenever the mission in which I happened to be engaged was specially perilous; and I now told her I should make ample provision for her safety. Field-Marshal Kiss's carriage called for me, and I proceeded to head-quarters, where I found a great number of officers, who expressed much joy at seeing me, and making my acquaintance.

The evening passed pleasantly, and at nine o'clock, I took my leave, the whole company uniting in wishing me success in my new undertaking. I drove to Kossuth's residence, and was received by him in a cordial and gracious manner. He

requested me to go to the Minister of Police, Madarasz, who would give me a general pass, with authority to receive every needful assistance, both civil and military, which I might require on my route. I proceeded at once to Madarasz. He was already fully informed of the object of my visit, and with the necessary credentials, gave me also several despatches for the Government Commissioner, Szémere, who was then in Klapka's camp, at Tokay. As soon as I had received my papers, I returned to Kossuth, when he gave me my final instructions, as follows :

“ You are to travel by Tokay, where you will find the corps of Colonel Klapka. You will announce to the Colonel that, from the 6th of February, the chief command of all the Hungarian troops will devolve upon General Dembinski, whose orders must be implicitly obeyed from that date, as those of the Government. You will then endeavour to find out Görgey : I regret that I cannot inform you in what direction you must travel for this purpose, for he has left the Government in absolute ignorance of his movements and intentions ; but as soon as you learn anything concerning him, pray let me have the intelligence immediately, that it may put an end to the devouring anxiety which is consuming me. Tell him that I am extremely dissatisfied with his tardiness, and that I expect from



him, in the name of the Government, a justification of his recent conduct. My treasurer has directions to furnish you for the expenses of your journey. Now go, and may that Great Being who has preserved you in the midst of so many dangers, still surround you with His protecting power, and give you success in your efforts to promote our righteous cause !”

On the 5th of February I left Debreczin, with my maid. It was a bitterly cold winter's morning, and we shivered incessantly, though wrapped up in thick fur cloaks. The road was wretched, and after a hard day's journey we reached the town of Leck, about an hour from Tokay, just as the night was falling. It was impossible to proceed farther that evening. I had quarters appointed me in the house of a noble family, who received me with the greatest kindness and attention. Dembinski's corps lay in the neighbourhood of Leck, and his head-quarters were in the town itself. I sent a messenger to him to request an audience ; he replied that he would wait upon me himself : nor did he delay, for my messenger had hardly returned, when the General made his appearance, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, Major Molnar. I was about to introduce myself formally, and to hand him my credentials, when he prevented me in the most courteous manner, by saying that he was already perfectly ac-

quainted with my name and services, and had heard the President frequently speak of me at Debreczin, in terms of high esteem.

He asked me what the spirit of the people was generally in Gallicia, and especially how I found the Poles in that province disposed towards the cause of Hungary. As Dembinski was himself a Pole, and deeply interested in the issue of Wovonetzky's attempt, I was obliged to recount to him minutely the incidents and result of my recent mission; which, as the reader knows, were highly satisfactory. He seemed greatly pleased that his countrymen, and especially that the Polish ladies, sympathized with the Hungarians, and thanked me repeatedly for the efforts I had made to arouse their patriotism. I asked him to direct me to the quarters of Klapka and Szémere. He said, that in order to reach them I must cross the Theiss, but as the bridge in the neighbourhood had been burned, it would be necessary to wait until they had covered the ice, near Tokay, with straw and planks, so that carriages might pass upon it. Having understood that I was to visit Görgey, he begged me to tell him that he would send him orders from Miskolcz. He then took his leave, expressing much pleasure at having made my personal acquaintance. Although I parted from Dembinski, at that time, with feelings of very high esteem, yet I must here remark,

that he did not afterwards altogether justify the hopes which Hungary had placed in him.

The next day I crossed the Theiss, and found Szémere, to whom I delivered the despatches with which I had been entrusted for him by the Minister, Madarasz. He gave me a letter of introduction to Klapka, to whom I was unknown. I set out immediately for Tokay, where I arrived at ten o'clock, and drove direct to Klapka's residence. Having delivered my despatches and Szémere's letter, I asked him if he knew anything of Görgey and his corps, and told him of my mission from Kossuth. He said that a courier from Görgey had just passed through Tokay, on his way to Debreczin, and that he had brought Klapka orders from Görgey to march without delay to Kaschau, where Görgey intended to concentrate his own troops, and form a junction with Klapka, when the united corps were to offer battle to Field-Marshal Schlick, who still lay in Kaschau; and if he refused it, to attack the city by storm.

Whilst we were speaking, Dembinski, who had left Leck immediately after my departure, entered. When he heard the contents of Görgey's despatch to Klapka, he said: "I am now Commander-in-Chief of all the Hungarian forces, and by the authority of my office I annul the commands which you, Colonel Klapka, have this day received. I shall

send orders myself to General Görgey, and I must request you, Baroness von Beck, to be good enough to bear them." Why he acted in this manner, I have never been able to understand: perhaps it was merely for the pleasure of exercising his newly-acquired authority, so as to prove that that of his predecessor in office had determined. Both Klapka and I regretted greatly that Görgey's plan should have been frustrated in this manner, for we felt convinced that it had been devised with admirable judgment and ability. Klapka begged of me not to forget to explain that it was not his fault if Görgey's design was not carried into execution.

At dinner Klapka described the battle which had taken place six days before between himself and Field-Marshal Schlick, near Tokay. Schlick had marched from Kaschau, intending to pass through Tokay, and proceed to Debreczin, for the purpose of disturbing the Hungarian Government. Klapka was not strong enough to hold the town against the Imperialists, he therefore crossed the Theiss, and burned the bridge behind him. The town of Tokay is situated in the midst of a number of precipitous hills, from which the town may be commanded on all sides, which leave no ground for manœuvring, and compensating, by stratagetic skill, for deficiency of numbers. On the other side of the Theiss, however, there are splendid plains, thinly

sprinkled with wood, and this was the ground chosen by Klapka to withstand the enemy. He led his troops across the Theiss in perfect safety, and took up an advantageous position with his main body, placing strong posts in the direction of Tokay, whence the attack was expected. Schlick had no intention of remaining in the town. He did not contemplate the possibility of the Hungarian troops being able to cross the river so rapidly. His plan was to surround them, as his numbers were more than double Klapka's. Finding, however, that they had passed the river, he attempted to follow; but was received with such a heavy and well-directed fire from Klapka's cannon, that he was obliged to fall back with great loss and confusion. After this it was impossible to remain in Tokay, as Klapka followed up his advantage rapidly and skilfully, so that Schlick saw himself compelled to retreat once more to Kaschau, to his intense mortification; and the Hungarians re-entered their old quarters, at Tokay, in triumph.

Having learned from Klapka that Görgey intended to march to Eperies, on the borders of Galicia, I determined to follow him thither, and at two o'clock the following morning set out for Ujhely, having promised Klapka to visit him at Gincz on my return, and to let him know the result of my interview with Görgey. We arrived at Ujhely

at nine o'clock in the morning. I had some knowledge of the town, since my journey to Galicia in the preceding month, and waited on the Mayor to ask for information as to my future proceedings. He told me that the peasantry in the county of Saross were devoted to the Austrian party, and would be sure to detain any one who should attempt to pass through their district with a Hungarian passport. Here, therefore, I was compelled to assume a disguise, and to relinquish my carriage, as well as the faithful companion of my travels. Through her agency I obtained a dress belonging to the female messenger of the hotel at which we stopped. Thus equipped, I mounted a peasant's cart, the driver of which had a sister living at the other side of this evil-disposed county.

We represented ourselves as a sister and brother going to pay a visit to this sister. This was an excellent pretext, and as we could both speak Slavish, which is the dialect used in this part of the country, we were able to satisfy all inquiries. At an inn at Stenste we met the Mayor. I knew him of old, and he gave us much information respecting the inhabitants of the county of Saross. He said that they had been wrought up to a blind fanaticism by means of papers in the Slavish language, which had been distributed by order of Schlick and the Imperial Commission.

That they had in these papers totally misrepresented the principles and intentions of the Hungarians, making them out rebels against their lawful King, and as engaged in the most unjust and unreasonable aggressions upon his prerogative.

Schlick had been formerly Administrator of this county, and during the period of his office had won the affections of all classes by his wisdom and moderation. He could therefore mould the opinions of the ignorant populace as he pleased, especially when he addressed them in their native dialect, which he understood perfectly. It was to be expected, as a matter of course, that he would use all this influence in opposition to the Hungarians, against whom he stood in arms; nor could any one blame him for so doing, had he kept within the bounds prescribed to themselves by all civilized nations under the unhappy circumstances of war; but he passed beyond these limits, and aroused the very worst passion of the people. He assembled all the justices of peace in the county at Kaschau, and told them he would pay five florins for every honved they would send to him pinioned and bound. The stimulus of avarice gave an impulse which may be easily conceived to the other bad passions of the peasantry. They used every device to get the Hungarians singly into their power. They betrayed the confidence of friendship. They violated the

sacred rights of hospitality; every house became a man-trap, and every peasant a kidnapper; and when they succeeded in mastering one of our unsuspecting countrymen, they tied him neck and heels, and placing a gag in his mouth, as if he were a felon and enemy of the human race, sent him in a cart to Schlick, who duly paid the promised reward for this base treachery.

Thus, Austria did not blush to make use of any means, however execrable, to regain her power over Hungary. With a shameless defiance of human reason and judgment, she strove to establish her rights to govern; by perfidy, corruption and murder—crimes which, when perpetrated on a small scale, are ordinarily deemed so heinous that those who are guilty of them are not permitted to live amongst their fellow-men, much less to rule over them. The foundations of popular morality were broken down by an organized system of bribery. Recourse was continually had to that odious, and in the end ruinous, policy, which shuns the open path of reason and public faith, which avoids the rude but fair encounter of the battle-field, and seeks to accomplish its objects by subtle indirection; that policy which was consummated when Görgey was won to betray and sacrifice his bleeding country.

The best troops of Austria had given way before the valiant defenders of Hungary, and had the con-




test remained between them, so surely as there is a sky above us, would Hungary have been victorious. This the Austrians knew well. They strove to impose upon the world by fabulous bulletins of victory after victory obtained by their Generals over our troops. Titles and orders empty as the achievements they rewarded, absolutely rained upon these *soi-disant* conquerors; but what a direct contradiction did the sequel of their conduct give to these inflated and fallacious boastings! Were the reports of the Austrian Government even partially true, the Hungarian army must have been annihilated three times over; and yet, after all, they were obliged to call for help to the Russian Autocrat, who with his barbarous hordes lay silent on the borders of Eastern Europe, waiting the issue of the struggle, and ready to seize every opportunity of promoting the interests of despotism. How is it, that in commerce and in the social engagements of life, a falsehood is looked upon with such horror that it excludes men from all honourable society, whilst at the same time we find crowned heads and governments guilty of the very same thing in the most aggravated form, and yet they are permitted to retain their connections with other governments which lay claim to moral respectability?

Well may my native land console herself with the thought, that it required the force of two monar-

chies as large as all the rest of Europe, to suppress her free spirit, even for a moment. To extinguish it altogether is beyond their power. Well may she be proud of her brave children, whose love and devotion to her rendered them invincible by the sword; though neither their valour nor their patriotism could save them from the insidious sting of treason. Corruption and temptation are the indices of an evil cause, as well as its means of operation: they may triumph for a season; but there is an eternal law by which, in due time, their true character must appear, and their momentary triumph be turned into perpetual defeat and shame. But to act openly and boldly, as the Hungarians did throughout, showed conscious reliance on the righteousness of their cause, as became the champions of liberty and truth. Nor can such principles be for ever obscured by the clouds of calumny and detraction. They shall rise by their natural tendency above these base exhalations, and only shine the brighter in contrast with their blackness.

I would not, however, be willingly unjust even to an enemy, and must pay my tribute of praise to Field-Marshal Schlick. Although I must for ever disapprove of his conduct in the county of Saross; yet, I believe, he was in some measure forced to it, as part of the general policy of the Austrian Government, in opposition to his better feelings. In

several particulars his conduct stands out in honourable contrast with that of the other Imperialist Generals. He did not allow his troops to plunder, burn, and murder, as they did. He refused to earn the degradation of crosses and orders, by such means. Had he been called to the counsels of Austria, he would have advised humane and moderate measures, instead of ruthless tyranny; for he was well convinced that such measures would have won the confidence of the Magyar race, and saved the name of Hapsburg from the indelible stain contracted by the barbarous cruelties perpetrated under its authority. I cannot help speaking thus. I must say the truth, and that I have said nothing else, God and the world are my witnesses.



## CHAPTER IX.

I pass through Saross, and arrive at Eperies—True Magyar spirit of Eperies—Proceed to Branisko in search of Görgey—View of Guyon's splendid battle near Branisko—Guyon promoted—Return to Eperies—Joy at Guyon's victory—Görgey's celebrated retreat through the mountains—Interview with Görgey—His reception of the news of Dembinski's appointment to the chief command—Dembinski's incapacity—Commencement of Görgey's defection—His insubordinate disposition—Able officers of his staff—Failure of a mission to Germany—Motoschitzky superseded by Danielis—Görgey's message to Kossuth.

WE entered the county of Saross, and passed through it with much less difficulty than we had anticipated. The peasantry stopped us many times, and questioned us; but our tale was satisfactory, and they allowed us to proceed. They seemed to entertain the liveliest apprehension of the Hungarian army, and asked us frequently, if we had heard any rumour of its approach to their county. We evaded all these inquiries, although I felt pretty certain that, on my return, I should find the whole county in possession of the Hungarian troops, and, indeed, Szémere declared to me, that as soon as our army entered the district, which he hoped would be on

the 9th, it was his determination to summon before himself all the justices of peace in the county, and to punish in an exemplary manner such of them as should be convicted of having furthered the infamous proceedings against the Hungarians.

Our next halt was at Eperies, a town animated by the right Magyar spirit. The people crowded round our carriage, eagerly inquiring when they might expect the army to enter the town; and being informed that it was on its march, and at no great distance, they received the intelligence with the most joyful acclamations. Having thrown off my disguise, I went to the Town-house to make inquiries about Görgey and his corps. I was informed that a part of the army was encamped at Branisko, about twelve English miles farther off; and as soon as I could procure fresh horses, I proceeded thither. At a short distance from the camp I met the first party of our hussars, who informed me that it was Guyon's division which was encamped at Branisko. The corporal who commanded the party, told me, in answer to my inquiries concerning Görgey, that he was to be in Eperies on that very day. I had, therefore, gone all these twelve miles out of my way, and must return immediately. Before I could do so, and whilst the corporal was giving me some further information, we were suddenly interrupted by the rolling of musketry, which was speedily succeeded by the thunders of a furious cannonade. The

corporal said it must be Guyon engaged with an Austrian division, and immediately dashed off with his party in the direction of the firing.

The corporal was right. A division of Schlick's corps, under Prince Lichtenstein, had been detached from the main body after the battle of Tokay, with orders to attack Guyon, who was thought to be unprepared, and who was much weaker in numbers. I ascended a hill, and was once more witness of a fierce battle, the issue of which was, this time, most glorious for the arms of Hungary. The artillery and infantry of the enemy were drawn up upon the steep declivity of a mountain. Their cavalry were posted in front, and lower down towards the valley. The Hungarians were posted on another hill opposite, with their cavalry also in front. A party of our jagers were dispersed in the valley, and kept up a dropping fire upon the enemy, who remained immovable; the cuirassiers answering the fire of the jagers without leaving their ranks, whilst the artillery above kept up a continued cannonade. At length the cannonade began to slacken, and we observed a movement amongst the cavalry of both armies. The Hungarians drew in from all sides, and formed at a considerable distance from the Austrian position, whilst the Austrians descended into the valley. Both parties then advanced towards each other, at a pace which gradually increased to a charge, and the Austrian artillery

recommenced its thunder. They met in the middle of the valley, and for awhile all was confusion, only that we observed the whole mass moving nearer and nearer to the Austrian position. The enemy's cavalry in this, as in every fair encounter with ours, gave ground ; at first, slowly, and fighting hand to hand, but finally altogether, retiring in good order, to their original position, whilst ours also drew off, from the artillery which began to thunder upon them. During this time, our infantry advanced slowly towards the enemy, who commenced firing rockets, which did much damage, and caused great confusion in our ranks. Seeing this, Guyon hesitated no longer. He gave the order for a general attack upon the enemy's position. This was the resolution of a hero.

In order to understand the difficulty of the attempt, the reader must call to mind, that the position to be carried by storm, was on the steep acclivity of a mountain. This was in itself a tremendous difficulty ; but it was rendered almost insuperable by the recent frosts which had covered the surface of the mountain in many places with a hard coating of ice, as slippery as glass. I saw our soldiers, myself, climbing these heights on their hands and knees, in the face of a murderous fire, from which, however, as I afterwards learned, their stooping posture preserved them in a great measure. At length they reached the enemy ; the conflict was short, but furious. The first indication we perceived

of its favourable result for the Hungarians, was a few stragglers hurrying away from the rear of the Austrians. Their numbers gradually increased until the summits of the heights were dotted with them. Then came a whole regiment, and another, and another hastening rapidly and in disorder over the ridge.

The victory was ours decisively. Our troops took an immense number of prisoners, arms, ammunition, and camp stores. But the most important capture was that of the rocket battery, which fell into their hands complete, with all its appointments. This was of essential service to the Hungarians subsequently. It served as a model, by which many others were constructed for the various corps. The first which was finished, was sent to General Bem, in Transylvania, and greatly contributed to his rapid successes in that province. Soon after this, Colonel Guyon was invited to Debreczin, and as a reward for his valour, raised to the rank of General, and invested with the command of the garrison at Komorn. Never was a reward better merited. He was, under all fortunes, a gallant soldier, a skilful general, and a faithful servant of the Government.

Having observed the progress of the battle until I saw it turn decidedly in favour of our troops, I set out on my return to Eperies, where I found Görgey, as the corporal had stated. I drove to the County-house, where the ex-Commander-in-Chief



resided. The whole population of the town seemed half mad with joy at Guyon's victory. The streets and squares were paraded by bands of music, and the patriotic beauties of the city did not disdain to reward the valour of many a gallant hussar and honved by joining them in the merry dance. It was highly amusing to observe the gratification of these rough, but noble-hearted fellows at the condescension of the ladies, and the strong efforts they made to be very polite and graceful to their beautiful partners. There was, however, a natural delicacy observable in their manners worth all the etiquette in the world.

The County-house itself presented a similar scene of triumph. It was adorned with all the flowers and foliage that could be obtained at that season of the year, and brilliantly illuminated. Görgey himself appeared in his splendid uniform, and took part in all the festivities. He danced with the ladies, he caroused with the officers, and, on this occasion, permitted a carnival liberty in his residence. Eperies was, in fact, the first town the army arrived at in which it was at liberty to indulge either in repose or mirth, after four weeks of almost incredible hardships and dangers.

A winter campaign is always a severe trial to the courage and constancy of the soldier, as well as to his health. But, in addition to these ordinary miseries, Görgey had been the whole of that period

entirely cut off from all intercourse with the Government, and with the rest of the army. He was surrounded on all sides by the enemy, whose repeated attacks did not leave his wearied troops a moment's repose, night or day. He was destitute of almost everything necessary to the effectiveness of an army; and yet, under all these terrible disadvantages, he succeeded in making his way through the mountain passes, in the face of an enemy three times his numbers; sometimes fighting to repel the attacks of the Austrians, or to drive them from his route, and sometimes manœuvring with consummate skill to avoid them, but still continually advancing towards Eperies, where he arrived safely, at length, after these incredible efforts of valour and firmness.

The joy of the people was unbounded, for the whole population was devotedly attached to the Hungarian cause. The few gentry who were favourably disposed towards Austria had left the city with their retinues and equipages on the approach of Görgey's corps, and were allowed to proceed to Schlick's army unmolested. The Field-Marshal was at this time attended by a vast train of carriages and waggons belonging to private persons, who believed themselves safer with the Austrian army than in their own homes, and who followed Schlick's corps in all its movements.

I sent in my name, and Görgey came to me

immediately. He grasped my hand in the most cordial and friendly manner, and congratulated me on the successful issue of my Gallician enterprise, from which he thought I was just returning. He had no suspicion of the real object of my visit. I requested to speak with him alone, and he immediately asked Major Pulszky, who was in attendance, to withdraw. I then informed him faithfully of all with which I was charged: of Kossuth's rebuke, and Dembinski's appointment, and that he had already taken the chief command of Perczel's division. I told Görgey that his recent orders to Klapka had been countermanded by Dembinski, who would himself communicate with Görgey, from Miskolcz.

As I delivered this intelligence, I could observe Görgey's countenance change from moment to moment, and his features to work with the efforts he made to suppress his indignation. When I concluded, he said, in a hurried manner: "Is it possible? Have I heard you aright? What! over my corps too? Is Dembinski to have the chief command over my corps as well as the others?"

"Over all the armies of Hungary, General," I replied. He could suppress his rage no longer. He sprang from his seat, and traversed the room with rapid strides: "What miserable infatuation!" he cried. "This Dembinski has already, by his very first act of authority—of which you have informed me—frustrated all our plans. He has

prevented Colonel Klapka from obeying my orders. Schlick is rapidly recovering from his recent defeat, and will escape from the Caudine forks into which we have driven him. All our recent efforts will be neutralized by this one order."

Dembinski's orders to Görgey soon after arrived by courier. They displayed utter incapacity and unfitness for the important post to which Dembinski had been advanced. He knew neither our country nor the habits and language of our soldiers. His military science and capacity might have been, at one time, of a high order, but since the Polish Revolution, in 1830—that is, for a period of nineteen years—he had lived in a state of complete retirement and inactivity. The soldier's skill, like his sword, does not improve by rust. Had Dembinski retained the acuteness and promptness which distinguished him in the Polish struggle, he would never have contravened Görgey's design of attacking Schlick in Kaschau. The plan was well laid, and would have been, in all reasonable probability, successful, and that whole district would have been freed from the Imperial forces.

There can be no doubt that Görgey had received great cause for disgust, and from this moment, I believe, he commenced his intrigues against the Government. I do not think that the idea of betraying his fatherland had as yet been entertained by him; but his underhand attempts to cover his

own personal interests, in case the war should terminate unsuccessfully for Hungary, led him on gradually, from step to step, until at last he became an active agent in bringing about that very termination, the fear of which had at first prompted him to separate his own concerns from the destinies of his country. He could not accustom himself to subordination. There was always something self-willed and uncontrollable in his character. When an officer in the Austrian army, though all his future hopes seemed to depend upon pursuing his career in that service, he quitted it rather than submit to the restraints of discipline.

It is easy to conceive how conduct like Dembinski's must have galled a man of this temperament, and roused his whole soul into opposition and revolt. Up to the present time, he had exercised unlimited authority, refusing to give any account of his proceedings even to the Government. It would have been politic to have deprived him of his authority in a manner less calculated to shock his egotism, and which to him must have worn the appearance of the deepest ingratitude; for the army under his command had certainly rendered distinguished services to the country. It must be stated in accordance with strict truth, however, that by far the larger part of Görgey's military renown was justly due to the brave and able officers who formed his staff. I would mention especially, for

instance, the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Pustelnic, who crowned a life of fidelity and honour, by an heroic death in the preceding January. Colonel Bayer was also of essential service to Görgey. He never undertook anything without the Colonel's advice.

But, above all, the spirit of patriotism, of thorough devotion to the cause of liberty and Hungary which animated his corps, was the cause of Görgey's successes. It was the hussars, the honveds and artillery which placed the laurels on his brow, and kept them fresh with their blood. It was himself alone who made them wither in the blight of treason. It was these brave fellows who with matchless constancy held their way through the mountains in the depth of winter, and in the face of a superior enemy, without once flinching or even complaining; who bivouacked under the open sky in the midst of frost and snow, and though destitute of almost the very necessities of life, never for a moment lost courage nor faltered, but repelled alike the attack by day and the attempted surprise by night, and reached at length a place of security in despite of the baffled and exasperated enemy. These are the events that try the temper and courage of an army. Well did my brave countrymen stand the test. It was a retreat worthy of Napoleon; but without such soldiers, it could not have been accomplished, even by Napoleon.

My business here being now ended, I made preparations for my return. Görgey requested me to bear a despatch from him to Kossuth. He also told me that a mission which had been despatched to Germany had come to nothing as regarded our cause, though its conclusion was in other respects sufficiently tragic. It appears that the Hungarian Government had determined to purchase thirty thousand florins' worth of arms in Prussia, and had sent Thunes to Breslau, in order to obtain the arms and to discover the safest method of forwarding them to Hungary. He was also commissioned to enlist secretly for the Hungarian army. It was arranged that he should be followed by two honved officers, Szardahely and Fiedler.

The different parts of this political interlude were arranged as follow: Szardahely made a will before leaving Pesth, in which the thirty thousand florins intrusted to him were described and disposed of as property which he had inherited from a relative; this will he carried with him, to prove that the money did not belong to the Government, as the slightest idea of that would have caused its instant confiscation in the foreign countries through which he was to pass, especially in Austria. Fiedler had been sent as a check upon Szardahely, to whom it was not deemed prudent to intrust so large a sum of money. Szardahely was a connoisseur in music, and had actually given some concerts; he deter-

mined, therefore, to assume the character of a professional musician, in order to baffle the enemy's vigilance, whilst Fiedler was to act as his secretary and manager. Motoschitzky, the Government Commissioner, who had set the whole in motion, was to watch the proceedings of the different *dramatis personæ* from the frontiers.

Szardahely and Fiedler had no sooner set out than a dispute arose between them, like that between the two men who fought for the skin of the lion which they were going to the forest to hunt. Each would be commander of the corps as yet *in nubibus*. Each insisted that he had the best idea of the uniform most suitable for the warriors *in futuro*. Neither of them would allow the other to ride before him on entering any town.

The reader will easily anticipate the issue of an enterprise requiring the utmost caution, secrecy, and skill, when undertaken by such childish and brainless characters, who made it the subject of their daily conversation, and of their puerile quarrels. There was great indiscretion somewhere, in confiding the enterprise to so many, and to such incapable persons. The very life of it depended upon the rapidity of its execution, which was rendered impossible by such a dislocated plan of operation. Thunes was the first of the three who had set out. He reached Breslau in safety, and made his preparations for purchasing the arms, and



for the enlistment of recruits; but having waited several weeks, in vain, for his associates, who were to bring him the necessary funds, he became apprehensive of a failure, and left Breslau suddenly.

He made his way to Paris, where he found means to return to Hungary, by way of Italy, and arrived at Debreczin in the following April. There he learned the fate of the other two. No sooner had Szardahely, the artist, and Fiedler, his secretary, arrived at the frontier, than they were seized by the Austrians, who had long been apprized of their design, no doubt, through the scandalous and open disputes which took place between them on the way. The thirty thousand florins were confiscated at once, and the two miserable ambassadors, without even the form of a trial, condemned to long terms of imprisonment in the dungeons of Olmütz. Motoschitzky had failed altogether in the performance of his part.

He neglected going to the frontier, as he had arranged, and remained with Görgey's army, where he had no business whatever, in consequence of which he was dismissed from his office of Commissioner and Treasurer to the army. Thus ended this famous expedition, which, from the beginning to the end, both in plan and execution, displayed an amount of absurdity and incapacity almost inconceivable, and which could have succeeded only by a miracle. Whilst waiting for Görgey's des-

patches, I met Lutzinsky, the Government Commissioner, and the General-Intendant, Danielis, who were both attached to Görgey's corps. Lutzinsky requested me to bear some despatches from himself to Kossuth, which I undertook to do willingly. The tardy movements of Görgey were, in a great measure, owing to the indolent, do-nothing system of Motoschitzky, whilst in office as Commissioner. Danielis appeared a man in every way qualified to give matters a new impulse. I spoke to him on the subject, and represented the general dissatisfaction at the present state of things. He appeared to hesitate at making any change, fearing to take upon himself too great a responsibility; but I told him I would fully explain everything to the President, and Danielis then promised that he would use his utmost efforts to render the army more effective in its operations.

Görgey had finished his despatches; and in giving them to me, he begged me to say to Kossuth, that if Schlick should escape from his present difficult position with even a remnant of his force, the blame must rest entirely upon those who had frustrated the plan laid down between Klapka and Görgey. That he would obey the Government, but protested against the summary manner in which he had been deprived of his authority.

## CHAPTER X.

Departure from Eperies—Reprimand to the Saross Justices—  
Arrival at Ujhely—Break-down in the mountains—Gallant conduct of the Hungarians at Hidas Némedi—Interview with Klapka—Return to the seat of Government at Debreczin—Interview with Kossuth—Mission to Dembinski's head-quarters—Visit to Kaschau—Patriotism of the citizens of Kaschau—Görgey's ball—Different treatment of prisoners of war by the Hungarians and Austrians—Review of Görgey's corps.

I took leave of Görgey and the other officers, and left Eperies on the evening of the 6th. My first halt was at that part of the county of Saross, where the inhabitants had acted so shamefully towards the Hungarian soldiers. As I had anticipated, the county was now in possession of our troops. I reached the town in which Szémere resided, early in the morning; and there I found, in fact, all the unhappy justices of the peace who had obeyed Schlick's summons to Kaschau, and had lent themselves to his infamous designs. Szémere had assembled them for the purpose of inquiring into their conduct, and punishing the guilty, as he had

threatened. It was not his intention, however, to imitate the example of the Imperialists, by retaliating vindictively. He wished rather to strike a wholesome terror into their minds, than to punish them with severity; for it was obvious that the poor men had acted as much through fear as through any other motive. He, therefore, requested me to pronounce judgment upon them, as it would relieve him from some embarrassment.

I consented. The justices were all together in a room. I rose, and addressing the next to me, said: "Pray what countryman are you?" "A Slave," he replied. "Where do you live?" "In Hungary." "In Hungary!" I proceeded; "and yet you have acted in this shameful manner towards your own country! You have consented to become agents to the enemies of your own honour and liberty: you have treacherously seized your unsuspecting fellow-subjects, and sent them to prison, bound and gagged like felons. Do you suppose that Schlick had your benefit in view when he gave you this disgraceful office? No, you are well aware that his advancement with the Austrian Government depends upon the success with which he can humble you, and all of us; and ravish from us our national rights and liberties. This is the object of the Camarilla in the present war. All that Hungary seeks is the constitution solemnly ratified by the Emperor Ferdinand, on the 16th of March,

in the presence of the Archduke Stephen, our Palatine, and of Kossuth, our President. You have been the dupes of the grossest misrepresentations : you have lent yourselves, with your judicial authority, to all the petty intrigues of the foes of national freedom ; you have even ridiculed that noblest and purest of patriots, Kossuth. What prevents him from retaliating, now that you are so completely in his power ? I will tell you : he disdains such baseness, and passes it by as unworthy of notice. His lofty soul is far above mere personal revenge : his actions have ever been open and candid, and the sole object for which he makes such superhuman efforts, and endures so much obloquy, is the liberty and happiness of our common country. Take this from one who knows him well, and who could not be easily deceived as to his motives. Go now to your respective homes, for this time your conduct will be overlooked ; but believe me, when I tell you that you had better study again your own interests, as well as those of your country ; and that if your conduct be not altered for the future, the next time you are called to account, it will be with a very different result."

They seemed deeply affected, and said they had been grossly deceived, both as to Kossuth's intentions, and the original cause of the war, and promised solemnly to remain, henceforth, true to the cause of the fatherland. I then dismissed them,

after again repeating my warning against their unpatriotic conduct.

I now proceeded to Ujhely, where I had scarcely arrived, when I was overwhelmed with crowds of visitors eager to hear the particulars of Guyon's victory, and of Görgey's Xenophontic retreat. I could hardly satisfy the curiosity of these people; and as I drove through the town, my carriage was surrounded by thousands of persons, almost beside themselves with joy at my triumphant tidings. I could scarcely disengage myself from the crowds; and when at length I drove away, they cried out, in tones which moved me deeply: "God bless you!—God be with you!" And He was with me: it was He who guided my footsteps, and sustained me, though a feeble woman, in my efforts to serve a righteous cause.

My route now lay in the direction of Gincz, where I had promised to pay Klapka a visit. I had the satisfaction of travelling in company with my maid, and in my own carriage, which I had left at Ujhely, on my journey to Eperies, and now took up again on my return. My satisfaction was not, however, of long duration. The mountain road by which we travelled was wretchedly bad, and we had not proceeded far, when one of the wheels gave way, and we remained firmly fixed in the mire, on the summit of a mountain. There was no appearance of a human habitation as far as the eye could reach, in

this desolate region ; but to remain where we were was impossible, so I left the coachman and maid with the broken-down carriage, and went on myself to seek for help. I travelled about four English miles before I met a human being, but at length I reached a village, where I told my tale, and the good folk cheerfully lent their assistance. The carriage was brought in, but the damage could not be repaired before the next morning, so that we were compelled to pass the night in the village. I regretted this the more, that I feared Klapka would have left Gincz before I could arrive there, and that I should not, therefore, be able to pay him my promised visit. And so it happened ; for as I drew near to Gincz the next day, I saw from a height near that town a brigade in full march, in the direction of Kaschau. I ordered the coachman to drive as rapidly as possible, in order to overtake the troops. We came up with them in a short time, and found they were Hunyadi hussars commanded by Captain Palfy. In answer to my inquiries concerning Klapka, he told us that Klapka was at the village of Hidas Némedi, about an hour and a half distant. We proceeded thither with all possible speed, and met on the way a division of the Polish legion, commanded by Colonel Bulharyn, who told us that Klapka was ill, and that he had set forward half an hour before the troops, in order to travel more easily. The Colonel was kind enough, also, to send an aide-

de-camp to Klapka with the intelligence of my arrival.

We accompanied the troops in their march along the declivity of the mountain, and saw the remains of a bridge near Hidas Némedi. It had been burnt by Schlick on his retreat to Kaschau, after his defeat at Tokay, and was the scene of one of the most gallant actions of the war. The Austrians were closely pressed by the Hungarians, and there was much danger of the retreat becoming a complete rout; Schlick therefore ordered the bridge to be destroyed, in order to retard the pursuers, but they came up before it could be effected. The stream is of considerable width, and the enemy was drawn up on the opposite bank; but the Hungarian troops did not hesitate for an instant; hussars, honveds, and Poles, rushed forward with a courage that defied all obstacles: some swam the icy river, others crossed the burning bridge amidst a storm of musquetry, and the whole reached the other side in a few minutes, when a fearful carnage of the Austrians ensued, and the remains of their troops were completely scattered.

Klapka had halted for us on receiving notice of our arrival, and we came up with him in a short time. After our first greetings, I expressed my surprise at finding the troops on their march to Kaschau, as it was understood that Dembinski had disapproved of that movement when proposed by



Görgey. Klapka requested me to take a place in his carriage, that we might converse more at ease. I did so, ordering my own to follow immediately behind. He then told me that Dembinski had adopted Görgey's plan for taking possession of Kaschau, and that the town was already garrisoned by some of our troops. I answered that I thought the mere possession of the town was of little advantage to our cause; that the principal object of Görgey's plan was to disable Schlick, either by capturing him and his troops in Kaschau, or by defeating him in a battle outside the walls; but that Dembinski had missed this principal aim of the enterprise, and given Schlick time to remove to a position where he could not be attacked with such advantage. Klapka assented to what I said, but he was evidently reluctant to pass any strictures on his superior in command.

It must have been deeply galling to clear-sighted men like Görgey and Klapka to see the enemy slipping away from them, whilst Dembinski, at Miskolcz, was playing the part of Hanibal at Capua. He allowed himself to be styled "Excellence," and permitted the people to get up public illuminations in his honour; he was serenaded nightly in his palace, and received, in short, a species of homage from the inhabitants. He was not used to such incense; it confused his head, and made him forget his duty. Indeed, at no period

of his career could he understand the energy and rapidity which characterized the movements of the Hungarian leaders. He was of a sluggish nature, and his tactics were somewhat behind the age and the country. I told Klapka, as I had promised, all that had occurred during my visit to Görgey, and the result of my communication to him. We then bade each other a cordial farewell. He went forward with his troops, and I directed my course towards the seat of Government at Debreczin, where I arrived early the next day, and drove directly to the Town-house.

I delivered my despatches, and detailed, with the utmost possible exactness, everything that had occurred on my mission. It was a matter of conscience with me, to state nothing but what was literally true, and I should have considered it a crime to have been guilty of the slightest inaccuracy in the intelligence I gave to the great President. He had already heard of my address to the justices at Saross, and laughed until the tears ran down his cheeks, when I described their forlorn appearance and the consternation into which I threw them before granting them their pardon. He told me that what I had said had produced a most powerful impression, that the peasantry had become disgusted with the deceitful conduct of Austria, and that the judicious clemency shown to the magistrates had caused a complete revolution of feeling in the county

as regarded Hungary. He was exceedingly occupied, and had not one minute to spare. His life, at this time, was a series of prodigious efforts, and of rapid transitions from one important affair of Government to another.

When I rose to take my leave, he told me that I must return once more to Görgey's camp with a despatch for Lutzinsky, formally deposing Moto-schitzky from his office ; and requested me to be present when his dismissal should be handed to him, and to observe how it would be received. I was then to go to Miskolcz, and ascertain, if possible, the cause of Dembinski's inactivity ; and from thence I was to return with my intelligence to Debreczin. Kossuth seemed greatly pained and mortified at the conduct of the new Commander-in-Chief ; indeed, there is but little doubt that Kossuth saw pretty clearly, from the manner in which Dembinski commenced to exercise the authority of his office, that he was not the man for such a position, and that the brilliant hopes of the army, founded upon his past career, as well as the predictions of his successes in the journals, were all doomed to remain unfulfilled. It was to be feared even, that he would lose the confidence of the corps which he commanded in person ; for whilst it was led by Perczel it was ever in movement, kept alive by the excitement of constant expectation, and repeatedly victorious. The soldiers did not understand, there-

fore, the inexplicable tardiness of the old Marshal, and were becoming daily more dissatisfied with the inactivity in which he held them.

I returned in the evening for my despatches. Kossuth received me with his accustomed cordiality. He went over again, in a very impressive manner, all the instructions which he had previously given me, and begged of me to be as careful and as diligent as possible in obtaining information for him: "For," said he, "I believe there are many things going on of which I have no knowledge, but of which I must bear the responsibility." He then gave me my despatches, and took leave of me with his accustomed solemn words: "I commend you to the guidance and protection of God!"

The remainder of the day was spent in making preparations for my return to Görgey, and in getting my carriage thoroughly repaired. On the following morning we set out, and, passing once more through Tokay, we arrived at Kaschau on the 15th, and found the corps of Görgey and Klapka united in that town. The streets swarmed with soldiers of every class and uniform. I drove to the residence of the Government Commissioner, Lutzinsky, whose wife (an acquaintance I now had the pleasure of making for the first time) received me in the most cordial and affectionate manner. I delivered Kossuth's despatch to Lutzinsky, and also the verbal instructions with which I was charged.

He seemed much rejoiced that the service was at length to be freed from the blundering and indolent Motoschitzky.

From Lutzinsky's I went to Görgey's residence. He was extremely polite, and told me that the people of Kaschau had received the Hungarian troops with transports of joy. The whole city was illuminated in the evening, and the citizens gave a magnificent ball to the officers. The next day, all the non-commissioned officers were invited to another ball, scarcely less splendid than that given to their superiors. "And now," said Görgey, "it is my turn to show that we soldiers can appreciate such hospitality; I have, therefore, invited the citizens to a ball this evening, and I must beg your assistance in entertaining them."

Whilst we were speaking, a courier from Dembinski was announced. He handed Görgey a despatch, containing a definitive order to march to Miskolcz on the 17th. "Well," said Görgey, "the time is short, but we must give these good citizens something to speak of; for, notwithstanding the apparent joy with which they have received our troops, they are far from being cordially disposed towards Hungary. The entrance of the Austrians was hailed with acclamations quite as loud as those which greeted us. I shall cause our soldiers to march out in their full parade uniform, to show the town's folks that neither our four weeks' marching and fighting

through the mountains, nor our night-bivouacks in the frost and snow, without sufficient provisions and clothing, has been able to deprive us of our gaiety, much less of our courage. It will show them also how speedily we have been able to repair whatever losses we sustained during that desperate retreat. This will leave an impression of our strength and elasticity, which will do more for our cause than suspicion and severity."

I now returned to my hotel, and occupied myself in a matter which the reader will probably think was more suited to my sex than some of my recent engagements; namely, my toilette for the ball on that evening. The Baroness Lutzensky kindly assisted me, and, after much consultation, I determined to appear in the Hungarian national costume. At ten o'clock, we arrived at Görgey's residence, where we were received by himself, his lady, and Colonel Danielis. I was soon recognised by our officers, who surrounded me in a crowd, and seemed extremely rejoiced to see me once more in their midst. They were all in their gala uniform, and certainly made a very brilliant display. The honved officers wore snow-white ostrich feathers in their caps, which floated about in the saloon like foam upon the ocean. The jacket was brown, with scarlet facings, richly covered with gold lace, and having rows of olive-shaped gold buttons in front. The rest of the uniform corresponded in splendour.

Amongst the *beau monde* of Kaschau, which was nearly all assembled in Görgey's saloons, I observed, to my great astonishment, several officers in the Austrian uniform, freely moving about, and dressed with the utmost magnificence. I asked Görgey what it meant, when he told me they were prisoners, to whom he had accorded the satisfaction of being present, and that he felt great pleasure in being able to alleviate their captivity in such a manner. My whole attention was now directed to these gentlemen, and I thought they seemed quite as much at their ease, and as gay, as if they had been in the palace at Vienna, and yet they were in the midst of "the traitorous and rebellious Hungarians." How different was our treatment of the Austrians, when they fell into our hands, from that which our countrymen met with from them, under similar circumstances! Here the hard necessities of war were softened down by every possible mitigation. The Imperialist officers, who had become prisoners to us, could not be liberated without foregoing the advantages of our soldiers' bravery; but whilst they were prevented from fighting against Hungary, that was deemed sufficient, without gratuitously increasing the miseries with which captivity, in time of war, is fraught to every brave man.

The Austrian officers joined in all the amusements of the evening at Kaschau, and were treated with the utmost attention; and this was not merely an

occasional exception—it was the rule constantly observed by the Hungarian authorities. Every Imperialist prisoner received from our generals the same pay as Hungarian officers of similar rank, and were entitled to the same military salutes and other courtesies; they were also permitted to wear their swords; a Colonel of the Nassau regiment had even a free table at Görgey's quarters. The Hungarians, in short, did not wage war to make men miserable, but to make them free; and the generous spirit of freedom pervaded their conduct even towards their enemies. On the other hand, whenever the Austrians got any of our countrymen into their power, it mattered not what their rank or position, they were humbled and insulted in every possible way. The Imperialist officers spat in their faces, and treated them otherwise in the most shameful manner; nor were our officers, many of whom were men of the highest rank, who had passed their lives in affluence, allowed more than the pay of common sentinels for their support. Numbers of them were even compelled to enlist as private soldiers in the Austrian ranks, and immediately drafted off to Italy, happy if even by these hardships they were able to escape the gallows, upon which multitudes of their brave companions, scions of some of the noblest houses in Hungary, expiated their love of the fatherland by an ignominious death.

But this was the policy of an inhuman tyranny,



which, for the preservation of its own power, despised alike the dignity of man and the helplessness of woman; and, in its fear and rage, disregarded the sanctity of the domestic circle, and the morality of nations; a power which sought to obtain its ends—not by conforming, or even pretending to conform, to the principles of universal justice—but by crushing, strangling, and destroying every one who dared to question its authority.

In an age or two hence, when the true story of Hungary's struggle shall be read by a more enlightened generation, it will be a matter of infinite surprise, that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was darkness enough for the existence of such a spectral vampire as the Austrian despotism, and that it was allowed to drain the life-blood from Hungary; whilst another monster, equally foe to man, held down the struggling victim.

But I have wandered from Görgey's saloons, where the ball proceeded with much spirit, and the young beauties of Kaschau seemed much more inclined to continue the waltz, with their brilliant honved partners, than to adjourn to another saloon to supper, which was at length announced.

I need not dwell further upon the incidents of the evening. Görgey proposed as a toast at supper, "The prosperity of Hungary!" It was received with loud acclamations; and the morning being now pretty far advanced, the company separated, each

to meditate upon the peculiar characteristics of this military entertainment. I was struck with the universal honour with which the name of Kossuth had been received by the company, and had then no suspicion of our host, who certainly discharged his duties with admirable tact and courtesy. I was awakened the next morning by the lively strains of military music, they proceeded from the bands of the various regiments, who were assembling for a grand review. I arose and made a hasty toilette in order to witness the spectacle. Thousands of people were flocking from all quarters of the city for the same purpose. The windows were crowded with ladies, who waved their handkerchiefs and little flags of the Hungarian colours as the several divisions of the army passed by, whilst the air resounded with "Eljens!" from the crowds in the streets.

The review was similar to most displays of that kind. The troops marched in quick time, and in slow time; and executed their evolutions with a precision astonishing to persons unacquainted with the power of military discipline. Their uniforms were all new; nor was there wanting anything to render the corps as perfect and effective as possible. The exultation of the people seemed to know no bounds. It is impossible to say what the Austrian party in the city thought of this exhibition, but there can be little doubt that the vast mass of the

people were devoted to the Hungarian cause, and felt sincere joy in seeing their countrymen so gallantly equipped and so well prepared to meet their enemies. I remember that it was a matter of intense wonder to all parties, that an army of twenty-eight thousand men, who had entered the city a few days previously, destitute of everything, could be so speedily and so completely furnished with every requisite for its efficiency. But they did not think of the all-comprehensive genius of him who presided over the destinies of the nation, from whose vigilance nothing escaped, and whom no emergency ever found unprepared. It was Kossuth who had wrought these wonders; and it was this marvellous power of creating resources apparently from nothing, joined to his own amazing disinterestedness, which had won for him the unbounded confidence and love of the whole nation.

## CHAPTER XI.

Dinner at the Baroness Lutzinsky's—Departure from Kaschau—Meeting with a party of soldiers—Dembinski fixes his headquarters at St. Peter's—Cordial reception of Görgey's corps by the inhabitants of Miskolcz—Discontent with Dembinski—Its causes—His appointment a mistake—Bem—Görgey at Miskolcz—Motoschitzky superseded—Madame Görgey's opinions of camp-life—Görgey's complaint of Dembinski's inactivity.

AFTER the review, I returned to dinner with Baroness Lutzinsky, where I met some of the first society in Kaschau. The ladies were in ecstasies with Görgey's ball, and could hardly find words sufficiently expressive for their praise. A crowd of them surrounded me, eager to hear something of my adventures. I related a few of the recent scenes through which I had passed. "My dear Baroness," said one lady, "we must regard you as one of the guardian angels of Hungary." "Oh! not at all," I replied: "I have merely done what I thought to be my duty; we females enjoy the largest benefits from national peace and liberty, and therefore we ought to do what we can to secure

these blessings." "Oh! all that is perfectly true," said she; "but you know, Baroness, we have not all the same courage and resolution as you have." "That may be," I said; "but if we have not courage to serve the cause of our fatherland actively, we can at least abstain from giving encouragement to its enemies." "That is a charge," said she, "to which we at least can plead not guilty." "I have been much deceived then," I said, "for I have read in the public journals that Schlick and his officers were received in Kaschau with marks of the highest esteem and honour; that they were visited and *fêted* by the ladies of Kaschau, and that every house in the city was open for their reception, whilst the citizens vied with one another in the magnificence of their dinners and balls to the Austrians. I confess it was with feelings of deep humiliation I read these accounts, but I cannot help mentioning them to you."

My friends seemed rather confused at this, and said: "The accounts are not altogether untrue as regards the public attention paid to the Austrians, but it was more through fear than good-will. We were compelled to act as we did, in order to avoid treatment similar to that which the Baroness Lutzinsky, our hostess, received from them." I inquired what that was, and they informed me that she had quartered at her residence a number of common soldiers, who were evidently instructed to

insult her, and damage her dwelling in every way they could. That they behaved in the most brutal manner, making a regular guard-house of her picture-gallery, and insisting upon occupying the best chambers in the house. They cleaned their arms with her hangings, and pipe-clayed their accoutrements upon her sofas. In short, when they were called away with the rest of the Austrian troops, they left the house a complete wreck, and so filthy, that it resembled a stable more than a human habitation.

This was the method they took of revenging upon an innocent and defenceless woman the conduct of her husband, whose only crime was that he had dared to serve his country. It was difficult to blame timid women, many of whom had husbands and brothers in our service, for having recourse to a little *finesse* in order to avoid the unmitigated barbarity with which their relationship to "rebels" would have been punished. The conversation turned upon other topics, and when we separated, we were the best possible friends. I felt convinced that the ladies of Kaschau were really devoted to Hungary, though they had made this show of attention to the Austrians through fear of them and love for those who were threatened with their vengeance.

Lutzinsky gave a *soirée* the same evening, at which I again met Görgey and his lady, with

Colonel Danielis and a number of staff-officers. Görgey was exceedingly gloomy. It appeared as if the thought of his approaching meeting with Dembinski weighed upon his mind, and excited feelings from which a stormy interview between the two was to be apprehended. For since Dembinski's appointment to the chief command, Görgey had lost much of that public consideration, in which he so greatly delighted.

The company separated at an early hour, as each of us had yet to make our preparations for the morning's journey. Early the next day, the Hungarian columns were visible issuing from the town, and covering all the neighbouring roads and fields on their march to Miskolcz. The Baroness Lutzensky also left for Debreczin: she dreaded a repetition of the brutal insolence of the Austrian soldiers. She took an affectionate leave of me, and made me promise to visit her in her new retreat.

I left Kaschau on the 17th of February. I had hoped that, by preceding the troops, I should avoid all obstruction on the route. I stopped to dinner at an inn on the road, and found that my hopes of avoiding the army were vain. A large division of the forces had already reached the place, and the officers were at the inn waiting for dinner. I was known to nearly all of them; and the moment they saw me, they hastened to greet me in the most cordial manner. Having declined their invitation

to dine with them, they insisted upon sending a choir of singers to amuse me, whilst I took dinner in my own apartment. On leaving the hotel, I was surrounded by a large party of the private soldiers, anxious to show me some tokens of respect. I thanked them, and gave them one hundred florins to drink the health of Görgey and Kossuth, at Miskolcz, and drove away, at last, amidst the hearty cheers of these humble, but brave and patriotic men. I reached Miskolcz about ten o'clock at night, and put up at the Crown Hotel.

I was well known at this house since my Gallian expedition; for I had stopped here, on that occasion, with the two Princes Wovonetzy. The landlord was extremely rejoiced to see me in safety once more. Görgey's corps was expected to arrive the next morning at ten o'clock. Dembinski had removed to St. Peter's, at about two hours' distance from Miskolcz, unwilling, perhaps, to witness the triumphant reception which awaited Görgey. The inhabitants of the place, on the contrary, went out in thousands to meet the troops of the latter. The whole district seemed to be assembled to do them honour. The tokens of exultation and joy manifested by the people, were equal to those exhibited by the inhabitants of Kaschau, with this difference, that many in that town had only put on the appearance of triumph, whilst their hearts were secretly disaffected, but here the rejoicings were



perfectly sincere. There was scarcely a family in Miskolcz which had not some member in the approaching army.

The meeting between the inhabitants and the troops was deeply affecting. It was a scene of powerful emotion. Here might be seen mothers embracing their sons, and pressing to their bosoms the robust soldiers, as if they had been still feeble and helpless infants. In another part, wives welcomed their husbands, and children their fathers; whilst many a beautiful girl, in the transport of seeing her lover once more after long absence and the dangers of the campaign, forgetting all conventional observances, hung round his neck, and sobbed for joy. Nor were the soldiers themselves altogether proof against these touching exhibitions of affection—tears might be seen rolling down the rugged cheeks of many a gallant honved and hussar, who had never felt any weakness on the battle-field, when charging to the very muzzles of the enemy's artillery. It was a perfect ovation to Görgey. His name was shouted by the multitude—both soldiers and civilians—in a manner which showed that they regarded him as the saviour of the troops under their recent perilous circumstances.

There was no necessity for quartering the soldiers. Each citizen took to his house as many as he could accommodate, and esteemed it a high privilege to be permitted to entertain them. During the whole day

the streets and squares wore a holiday appearance, and were filled with crowds exchanging congratulations, not only on account of the success of the Hungarian arms, but also on the recovery of friends and relatives who had encountered all the terrors of the unparalleled campaign from which the army had just returned.

I had scarcely settled myself comfortably in the hotel, when I received a visit from Lutzinsky, who told me that it was his intention to deliver to Motoschitzky, on the next day, at eleven o'clock, the President's order, by which he (Motoschitzky) was superseded in office, and directed to give up his accounts and the funds which remained in his hands, to Lutzinsky, his successor. He requested me to be present, according to Kossuth's express request, and said that Motoschitzky had refused to give up his authority without the order of the President. We laughed a good deal at the idea of a man wishing to retain the power of doing nothing, for that was, literally, the use that Motoschitzky had hitherto made of his office.

I finished the day at an evening assembly, to which Lutzinsky insisted upon conducting me. I met there a large number of officers belonging to both Dembinski's and Görgey's corps. They seemed rejoiced to meet one another; and the excellent spirit which prevailed amongst them was remarkable. I observed, however, that all were

displeased and discontented with Dembinski. This feeling escaped in a variety of hints and allusions, which would have had no significance to any one, except to a person acquainted, as I was, with the dispositions and attachments of the several corps. It took a more definite shape some time afterwards, in a memorial which was presented to Kossuth, signed by sixty staff-officers, in which they declared that they could not serve any longer under Dembinski, as he had entirely lost their confidence by his indolence and incapacity; and that they preferred giving in their resignation to continuing under the command of a man, who had kept them in a forced state of inactivity, whilst they had many opportunities of effectually serving their country. They complained, especially, that Dembinski, through want of observation, or neglect, or some other unexplained cause, had failed to take advantage of Schlick's embarrassed position in Kaschau, and allowed him to retrieve himself from the difficulties into which he had been thrown by the skilful movements of the other Hungarian Generals. They stated that this was the only use which Dembinski had as yet made of his authority; and that the result of it was, that Schlick had formed a junction with Windischgrätz, instead of being captured or annihilated, as he would have been inevitably, had the plans of Dembinski's predecessor been carried into execution.

Dembinski, it may be observed, had not intrusted any of his officers with his plans for carrying on the war. He was anxious to secure to himself all the glory which the army might win ; and, as a necessary consequence, he not only lost their confidence, but awakened their suspicion. He was constantly engaged in poring over maps, and devising movements which he flattered himself would increase his renown ; but he failed to secure that moral influence over his troops, without which the best-laid designs must prove unsuccessful. I saw the evil consequences which appeared imminent, from this state of things, and endeavoured to avert them, to the utmost extent of my feeble power. It was perfectly plain that matters could not remain in this condition much longer, without destroying that harmony which had hitherto subsisted in the army, and had been the secret of its success. I determined to go to St. Peter's, where Dembinski resided, in order to see for myself, and to put Kossuth in possession of full and accurate intelligence of the state of affairs. The question which suggested itself to every one of Dembinski's officers was this : " Shall our corps, which, under Perczel, was distinguished for its activity and success, be permitted to lose its hard-earned reputation, in order to gratify the whim of one man ?" This question brought its own answer with it, and that was a unanimous negative. Nor will any one wonder at this who considers, that though

it is difficult for soldiers to contemplate the necessity of deposing their commander, it is yet more difficult for them to see opportunity after opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and of serving their country, absolutely thrown away by the unaccountable obstinacy and caprice of one individual.

Perczel's corps, of which Dembinski had assumed the direct command, had performed brilliant services against the Croats, in the beginning of the war, and had been throughout remarkable for its boldness and good fortune ; many of the officers by whom it was commanded had grown grey in the service of Austria, and had attained a higher reputation than Dembinski himself. It was unreasonable to suppose that such men could bear to be curbed and restricted by a man, who, whilst they were acquiring experience on the battle-field, had spent nineteen years in the saloons of Paris, and in other places as little likely to qualify him for the command of an army. It was especially galling to them to be altogether excluded from the counsels of the Commander-in-Chief, and to see the laurels which they had gathered before he was placed over them wither under his destructive policy. His appointment was, in short, a great mistake from the very beginning.

Teleky, the Hungarian Envoy at Paris, had been instructed to secure, if possible, the services of one of the French generals, who had been formed in the African wars. The great skill and recent experience

of such a commander, it was thought, would be of signal advantage to the raw levies in Hungary, where such experience was yet to be acquired, and where, except in a few disciplined corps, all that is requisite for the efficiency of an army, except bravery and devotion to the cause, was absent. Instead of such a general, Teleky sent Dembinski, whose leading idea from the very first was, not to advance the righteous cause in which he had engaged, but to make for himself a name as great as that of Bem, his countryman. But how differently did the two seek that object !

Bem had in a short time, by an amazing union of skill, energy, and bravery, earned for himself, beyond all dispute, the character of one of the greatest generals of the age. When he entered Transylvania he had about five hundred troops under his command, destitute of clothing, arms, ammunition, stores—everything. It seems like the fabled enterprise of some ancient Paladin of romance, for a man to undertake, with such a force, to conquer a province in possession of the armies of two mighty empires ; yet Bem not only undertook it, but, in an incredible short space of time—only a few weeks—actually effected it, and drove the enemy before him on every side, until he remained undisputed master of the whole territory. The genius which could create and equip an army under such circumstances, and infuse into it such burning ardour and indomitable

energy, changing, as if by some magic spell, a crowd of peasants into a puissant and conquering army, plainly points out its possessor as a born leader of men, and endowed with all the essential elements of greatness. These elements were either deficient in Dembinski, or else they had become torpid by long cessation from exercise.

Such thoughts as these destroyed the pleasure which I might otherwise have felt in the joyous assembly to which I had been introduced by Lutzinsky. Görgey was there also; he had come in late, but his manner was totally different from what I had seen it in Kaschau. There, he was the soul of the whole company, his speech and conduct overflowed with an exuberant gaiety; here, he was silent and gloomy. He took no part whatever in the amusements of the evening. His mind seemed burdened with heavy thoughts, and the glances of his eye were dark and scornful. When supper was announced, he offered me his arm to conduct me to the refreshment saloon, and as we proceeded thither, requested me to favour him with a visit on the next morning, as he had many things of serious importance to communicate to me. He sat by my side at supper, but though the company was animated and brilliant, full of wit and hilarity, nothing could chase away the black cloud that overshadowed his spirit.

The repeated occupations of the town by the Austrian garrisons, and the consequent sufferings

of the population were spoken of. The astonishing firmness with which the inhabitants of Miskolcz had adhered to the cause of Hungary, notwithstanding the grievous persecution to which their fidelity had subjected them, was the theme of universal admiration and praise. These were topics that in other times would have kindled Görgey's most ardent enthusiasm, but now he heard all in mute and sombre abstraction. The most stirring strains of our national music were unattended to, if not unheard; and when his own health, coupled with that of Kossuth and the army, was received with the most enthusiastic cheering, he deigned no reply, but preserved throughout a speechless and impenetrable secrecy. I felt an undefinable apprehension of the consequences likely to follow the bitter reflections and silent broodings of such a self-willed character over his wrongs, whether real or imaginary; but I felt in some measure reassured when I looked round upon the crowd of brave and pure-minded men also present, who had devoted their lives and fortunes to the cause of our country.

I left the assembly without regret, being oppressed with the consciousness that Görgey's conduct this evening was but the visible index of a spirit of discontent and alienation from the Government, which had prevailed for some time, in an under-current, amongst his troops.

The next day had been appointed for the formal



deposition of Motoschitzky from his office of Government Commissioner, and for the audit of his accounts, preparatory to their passing into the hands of Lutzinsky. I drove to Lutzinsky's residence, according to previous arrangement, and soon after Motoschitzky arrived. His accounts were not prepared; but he promised to deliver them himself, with all the necessary vouchers, to the Government at Debreczin. We had not much faith in this promise; nor was our distrust unfounded, for we learned, afterwards, that he had given in a series of accounts, without system or vouchers, in which it appeared that the funds committed to his charge had been shamefully squandered. He delivered up to Lutzinsky twenty thousand florins in specie, with receipts for some other amounts which had been paid. This money, with the receipts, Lutzinsky begged me to take charge of, and to deliver them, with despatches from himself, to Kossuth.

I now hastened to pay Görgey a visit, as I had promised. He was busily engaged with a number of officers when I arrived, and begged me to wait with his lady, until the affairs with which he was occupied should be concluded. To this I cheerfully consented. Madame Görgey had not been long with the army. She spoke with much animation of the striking difference which she observed between the society and occupations of camp-life,

and what she had been previously accustomed to. Here, all was variety and change, contrasting strangely with the peaceful monotony of her former habits. She said she had felt great apprehension at the idea of accompanying her husband in his campaigns, but that she now greatly preferred being with him in his various movements, to living—however securely—at a distance, a prey to the most anxious forebodings, and the misery of suspense, whilst she knew him to be exposed to the fatal chances of war.

Görgey himself entered, after a short time, and requested me to accompany him to his cabinet. When we were seated, he began the conversation, without relinquishing the gloomy and mysterious manner, which had attracted my attention on the preceding evening. "Since Kossuth," said he, "has commissioned you to bring him intelligence concerning Dembinski's conduct and motives, you are at perfect liberty to go to St. Peter's and learn for yourself what his intentions are, and I earnestly request that you will do so. Here have we been now, with a fine army, for three days completely inactive, with the enemy before us. Dembinski has given no orders, nor any intimation of his intention to do so. He is well aware of the fact that Schlick has passed through the county of Kemeny without opposition, and has succeeded in forming a junction with Prince Windischgrätz; and there is

reason to apprehend that the two Austrian Generals, with their combined forces, will attack us, whilst we are left without directions how to act, in such an emergency."

I could not say a word in exculpation of Dembinski, whom Görgey plainly despised, with all the force of his obstinate and self-willed nature. I could only regret, in silence, that Dembinski should have furnished him with so palpable an opportunity of manifesting his contempt. I promised Görgey to leave Miskolcz for St. Peter's that same afternoon, and to do everything in my feeble power to promote the interests of our country. He begged of me, also, to let him know the true posture of affairs, as his present state of uncertainty was no longer tolerable. Having promised to give him full and accurate intelligence of all that I might learn at St. Peter's, I took my leave of him and his lady, and immediately commenced my preparations for the journey.

## CHAPTER XII.

Danielis's advice respecting the discontent in the army—Visit to St. Peter's—Discontent of Dembinski's own officers—Interview with Dembinski—Return to Miskolcz—Lutzinsky's message to Kossuth—Remonstrance with Görgey—I pledge myself to bring Kossuth to the army—Departure for Debreczin—Public reception at a village on the route—An old Magyar—Violent contrasts in my experience—Relief of Austrian prisoners of war—Their gratitude—Impolicy of the Austrians—Cruelty to their prisoners.

WHILST engaged in preparing for my departure from Miskolcz, another proof of the deep anxiety which pervaded the troops, was presented to me. Colonel Danielis was announced, and entered my room in great haste and trepidation. He said he understood I was about to proceed to St. Peter's, and that he wished to impress upon me the great importance of judicious management, in the crisis to which the military affairs of Hungary had been brought. "I know," he continued, "that you possess the unlimited confidence of the President: you have, therefore, the power of exorcising the dark spirit which has taken possession of the army,

and of extinguishing its alarming discontent, by simply putting Kossuth in possession of the true state of affairs. He will implicitly credit your statement, and his genius will speedily find the means of freeing us from this painful embarrassment."

I told him that it was my settled intention to proceed to Debreczin, without an instant's unnecessary delay, on my return from St. Peter's. He then took his leave, and having finished my preparations, I set out on my journey.

St. Peter's is but two hours' distant from Miskolcz. I arrived there in a very short time, with the help of excellent horses, with which I had been provided, and drove directly to Dembinski's headquarters. He was not there, but his aide-de-camp, Major Molnar, said, in answer to my inquiries, that the Commander-in-Chief had gone out to spend the evening in company, and that if my business was very urgent, he would have him sent for. I thanked the Major, and said I would not disturb Dembinski, but would wait until he returned home; and that, as it was of great importance I should see him as soon as convenient, I should feel much obliged if the Major would send me a message to Colonel Kaspar's, apprizing me of Dembinski's return.

At Colonel Kaspar's I met a great number of officers, who were old acquaintances, from Presburg.

They were greatly rejoiced to see me, and gave me a cordial welcome. I asked several of them concerning the state of affairs, and the invariable answer was the ominous monosyllable, "Bad!"

I had not yet heard so unfavourable a judgment, so decidedly expressed. Whatever Görgey and his officers may have thought, they were restrained from so openly pronouncing condemnation upon the conduct of Dembinski, by the danger they would incur of being thought actuated by jealousy, or dislike; but this was the unconcealed opinion of Dembinski's own corps. I endeavoured to soften down the resentful feeling which was universally cherished against him; but it was a task far exceeding my power, or, indeed, the power of any human being. Dembinski had not only failed to win the confidence and attachment of the army, but he had treated the civil population with such arrogance, that they hated and despised him most heartily. I reminded the officers that the interests of our fatherland were at stake, and that men engaged in so sublime and holy a cause, must be prepared to endure cheerfully many things extremely disagreeable to their personal feelings. That quarrels and disunion amongst the leaders of the people had been the ruin of many nations, in their struggles for liberty; and that, with a little patience, both they and the Commander-in-Chief would learn to know one another better, and would

probably see things in a different light from what they did at present.

The gentlemen were interested by my words, and amongst the rest Colonel Kaspar himself paid much attention to what I said. He was one of the ablest cavalry officers in the army, and his opinions carried a corresponding influence. When I had spoken, he replied, with much solemnity of manner: "What you say is unquestionably true, in its general application; but there are certain limits to the passive obedience which is expected from subordinates to their superiors in command. The military life of an officer invests him with a certain individuality of character, and a moral status which it can never be advantageous to any good end to neglect or to deteriorate. My own case may serve as an illustration of what I say, though there are many more striking. I entered the army as a private soldier, because I wished to earn my promotion step by step: I succeeded; my humble, but earnest, efforts were acknowledged by my country, and honoured with the high grade of a colonel of hussars. For a long period I served under General Perczel. We lived on terms of the most intimate friendship, and he seldom did anything without consulting me. He set a high value upon my military experience, and upon what he called (let me not be charged with egotism if I say), and called justly, my unwavering fidelity to our sacred cause. Imagine then what my

feelings must be to see myself neglected and misprized, to say nothing of the total absence of that confidence in which I had habitually lived with my former commanding-officer. And what corresponding advantage has the country gained by our humiliation? How does it advance her cause, that this man should give himself airs, and exact titles from her faithful children hitherto unknown amongst us? It is my settled opinion, that he is anxious to exalt himself; and cares very little how deeply our fatherland may sink whilst he rises."

I give these observations of Colonel Kaspar as a faithful epitome of the feelings and opinions of the entire army. An aide-de-camp from Dembinski now arrived with a request that I would come to his residence, to which he had just returned. I immediately took leave of Colonel Kaspar and the other officers, and accompanied the aide-de-camp. Dembinski received me with the utmost politeness, and after handing me to a seat, asked me what intelligence I had for him. I answered, None. That I had come from Kaschau with the seventh corps, and was merely waiting in Miskolcz until the attack upon the enemy should take place, in order to carry the intelligence direct to the President and Government, who were anxiously expecting it; but that I had already delayed much longer than was convenient, and must proceed to Debreczin in the morning without any information, unless Dembinski



chose to give me a statement of matters which could be laid before the Government.

He said he could not do that, but commenced instead to give me various proofs of the enemy's design to attack himself; amongst others, that two days since they had sent forage for three hundred horses to a village only four hours' distant, though none of their troops had as yet appeared. I answered, that if he waited till the Austrians attacked him, he might reckon himself secure for some time to come; but that I believed they might do so by-and-by, with an overwhelming force; for whilst Dembinski lay in Miskolcz and St. Peter's, Schlick had united his troops with those of Windischgrätz, and the combined forces would no doubt attack the Hungarian army when their preparations were completed. To this he made no answer, but I could see that it made an impression upon him. He told me to say to Kossuth that he would change his head-quarters to Mezökövesz, and immediately draw his army together on the Theiss.

At the close of our conversation he invited me to supper. I accepted the invitation, and met at his table a brilliant staff. We were served with an elegance and luxury which astonished me, although it was Dembinski's usual style of living. At eleven o'clock I took leave of Dembinski and his officers, and hastened back to Miskolcz, where I knew that my return was anxiously expected; Danielis and Lut-

zinsky were, in fact, waiting for me at my hotel: their eagerness to know the result of my visit would not permit them to wait at their own residences for my intelligence. I was obliged to narrate to them all the incidents of my reception and departure, to go over the whole conversation which I had had with the Commander-in-Chief, and even to describe the expression of his countenance and the tones of his voice, so earnestly did they wish, if possible, to divine his intentions.

As it was too late to visit Görgey that night, I begged them to inform him that it would be absolutely necessary for me to leave for Debreczin early the next morning, in order to lay before the Government a formal narrative of all I had seen and heard of the condition of the army. Lutzinsky requested me to tell Kossuth that it was his intention to return to Debreczin shortly, as he perceived very plainly that his presence with the army was superfluous. Bartolo Szémere, the Government Commissioner of Dembinski's corps, had imitated his Commander in his arbitrary manner of discharging the duties of his office, and had even manifested a wish to administer the affairs of the seventh corps, as well as those of his own. Under these circumstances, Lutzinsky bade me say that he saw no probable termination to this grasping after authority, and thought he could better serve the country by resigning his office, and discharging his duty as a

deputy in the National Diet. The two officers now took their leave, promising to see me in the morning, before my departure.

I rose early on the next morning, in order to receive Görgey. He appeared punctually at the appointed hour, and listened attentively to my report of what had occurred at St. Peter's. He entreated me to lay the whole before Kossuth, and enjoined me to relate everything as minutely and accurately as possible, in order that he might exercise his judgment upon the whole case. Görgey informed me further, that he had just received an order from Dembinski to get his troops in motion, and march directly to Erlau; a circumstance of which he thought the President ought also to be put in possession.

Görgey's manner was, on this occasion, exceedingly open and candid; he had recovered his usual composure, and seemed disposed to be communicative. I thought this a good opportunity to relieve my mind of certain uneasy thoughts, which had oppressed me for a long time, and spoke to him nearly as follows: "You have told me, General, that I possess your confidence, and I need hardly say how highly I prize your good opinion. I am about to put it to the test, by claiming the privilege of stating to you in person, openly and honourably, a notion which has taken possession of my mind. I do not think you stand in that relation to Kossuth which

the friends of the fatherland could wish. Many think that you purposely avoid a written correspondence with him, lest it should lead to a cordial understanding between you both; and that that is the reason why all your communications to him are merely verbal. Forgive me, if I state my strong conviction, that so long as you refuse to place yourself in direct correspondence with the President, there can be but little done by either of you for our great cause; the head and hand of Hungary will remain in perpetual discord. Take your pen, then, I beseech you, in the name of our down-trodden and bleeding country. Let Kossuth know the real state of matters. Describe to him, with that perspicuity of which you are such a master, the dangerous misunderstanding and discontent which prevail in the army. Whatever a person like myself can do I will joyfully attempt, to establish harmony between the two men upon whom the chief hopes of the nation rest. Your first written communication will, I am firmly persuaded, bring Kossuth to the army, to ratify, in a personal interview, this glorious concord. He will then banish from amongst the troops all discontent and soreness of feeling, as he only can do it, by that pathetic and animating eloquence, which falls like balm upon the wounded spirit."

He heard me to the end with an attention which surprised me, and then answered: "Let

us suppose that all you say could be accomplished, is it probable that Kossuth would come to the army, to ratify, as you term it, this concord? Would not the very circumstance of my soliciting his presence, think you, place me in a false position, and expose me to unnecessary humiliation?"

I was delighted to find that he had not taken offence at my boldness, and although he had thrown an extra shade of ceremony into his manner, I determined to follow up my advantage; I answered him, therefore: "My dear General, I ask you to do nothing unbecoming a gallant and honourable soldier. Only promise me that you will put yourself into direct communication with Kossuth, and I will pledge myself for his coming to the army. What say you—shall it be so?"

He paused for a moment, and slowly raising his eyes to my face, took my hand, and said: "I promise it."

I could not restrain myself from shedding tears of joy and gratitude. I believed I had done a most important service to Hungary. Would that my faith had been better founded!

Lutzensky and Danielis now entered. Görgey imparted to them the substance of our conversation, and said that I had pledged myself that Kossuth would pay a personal visit to the army. They were greatly rejoiced at hearing this, and anticipated the

best results from the direct exercise of his personal influence upon the troops. They paid me many very flattering compliments; and at length, the time for my departure having arrived, we took leave of one another with mutual expressions of esteem and friendship. There was something solemn in our parting: it seemed like a fresh consecration of ourselves to the cause of our native land. I looked back from my carriage, and saw the three officers at the window, waving their farewells to me. It was a moment of unalloyed satisfaction. I could not foresee the events which were destined to destroy the fair and hopeful expectations which I had founded upon the reconciliation of the two most influential men in the country.

I pursued my journey, indulging in magnificent day-dreams of the future which awaited Hungary, when her children, through union, energy, and genius, should have re-established her liberties, and won for her that place amongst the nations of which she had been robbed by cunning and force.

We halted at a village a few miles from Miskolcz, to change horses, where a new and pleasing surprise was prepared for me. I observed, from the window of the room to which I had retired, a large crowd collected in front of the inn, and asked the landlord what it meant? He said the people wished to see me, and introduced, at the same time, a venerable old Magyar, with long silver hair, and beard. I

waited to hear his explanation. He said: "Madam, I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken in intruding upon you; but I am deputed by the population of this village to request that you will allow them to furnish your carriage with horses to the next stage. They have been seeking out the most beautiful in the country for the last two days. They feel confident that you will not refuse this humble, but sincere, mark of the honour in which they hold you, and that you will further gratify them by allowing them to see and hear, for a moment, one of whom they have heard so much as one of Hungary's most devoted children."

I was greatly astonished at this request, and said: "The people have surely mistaken me for some one else: I am an entire stranger in this village." "Oh, no!" said the old man, "you are the Baroness von Beck; I know you perfectly well." "And where may I have had the pleasure of seeing you before?" I replied. "Why, I cannot say that you have ever seen me, gracious Lady; but I have seen you under circumstances which I cannot easily forget."

The matter now began to grow interesting. I begged of the old man to tell me what those circumstances were. "I was at Miskolcz," said he, "when the Hungarian army entered the town, and whilst standing in the crowd in front of the County-house to catch a glimpse of our gallant

leaders, I saw a lady amongst the staff-officers. I asked a gentleman belonging to Miskolcz who she was, and he told me that it was the Baroness von Beck ; that she was worthy to be honoured by every right-minded Magyar, for she had done important services to the country, and was so highly esteemed by Kossuth, that he would always have her near him, except when she was engaged on some mission of great trust, which might require her presence in another part of the country. You may be certain that when I heard this I took a good view of you, so that I should know you again under any circumstances. The same gentleman told me that you would probably pass through our village on your way to Debreczin. I hastened home, and told my neighbours what I had heard, and they determined, if possible, to see you, and do you all the honour in their power ; for we are all in this village faithful children of the fatherland."

I thanked my venerable old countryman heartily for his good opinion, telling him that popular rumour had greatly exaggerated the humble services which I had been able to perform ; that all I could boast of was a fearless confidence in the justice of our cause and sincere devotion to the country, and that these feelings were not exclusively mine, but were shared with me by the whole population of Hungary. I then accompanied him to the front of the hotel, where I found a vast crowd of people—



men, women and children—expecting my appearance. The men shouted, the women waved their handkerchiefs, and the children, without any special object, except to add a little to the noise, screamed and clapped their hands with all their might.

The good people had provided me with four beautiful horses, which were dressed up with ribbons and flowers, and stood ready harnessed to bear me off in triumph. I spoke a few words to the kind-hearted and patriotic villagers, and drove away among renewed cheering from the young folk, and many a blessing uttered in the deep and tremulous tones of old age. The whole scene had affected me a good deal; there was so much real earnest feeling, combined with such genuine simplicity. My thoughts reverted unconsciously to my last interview with Görgey. What a contrast between his mysterious manner and impenetrable closeness, and the joyous candour of the good people from whom I had just parted! but my life had of late been a series of antitheses—now feeling sufficient courage to encounter the dark and strong spirit of Görgey, and to tell him plainly of his exaggerated self-esteem and despotic disposition; and again, when I reflected upon it, terrified at my own daring; at one time fleeing in mean disguise from death in its most terrific forms, hungry, shelterless, and alone; at another, surrounded by crowds anxious to do me honour, whilst the most

joyful feelings rapidly alternated with the terrors of death.

The mind must have given way under such circumstances ; it must have been rent by the violence of those opposite emotions, had there not been some unshaken ground upon which it could repose. That ground was immovable faith in God, and love to my fatherland. The latter stimulated me to undertake the hazardous employments with which I was intrusted, whilst the Almighty hand led me through all difficulties, preserved me from all dangers, and crowned all my efforts with success. May my soul, in its deepest reverence, ever remain grateful and humble before Him who has been my unfailing resource in every danger and sorrow !

At the second stage of my journey, I determined to rest for a little time, and having directed the coachman to drive to the principal inn in the place where we intended to halt, I entered and gave directions for a light repast. I observed a vast number of persons in tattered uniforms swarming within and around the inn, and was informed that they were Austrian prisoners. Nothing could be more deplorable than the appearance of these poor fellows. Their clothes were in rags, and many of them were without boots. The honved officer who had charge of them had gone to some distance, to procure provisions for them, which was no easy matter in a thinly-peopled district, where such an

addition to the demands upon its resources was totally unexpected.

I felt the greatest compassion for these poor men ; for the weather was excessively cold, and they seemed to suffer greatly from its effects, though they made no complaint. I requested one of the honveds to present my compliments to his officer as soon as he should return, and to say I wished to speak to him. I asked some of the prisoners the object for which they fought, but they had not the most distant idea of the merits of the question disputed with so much misery and blood between Austria and Hungary. It would have been absurd to look upon them as enemies. I could only regard them as suffering fellow-men. Meanwhile, the officer in charge of the prisoners arrived, and I begged of him not to take it ill if I interested myself a little in the fate of the poor fellows whom the fortune of war had thrown into his power.

He asked in very polite terms who I was, and on hearing my name, at once said that he would be extremely happy to forward my intentions. We sent immediately for a shoemaker, and had all the prisoners who were without covering for their feet furnished with strong shoes and boots, and good warm stockings. They came in a body to thank me for these seasonable gifts, and said they knew the Hungarians were brave ; but they did not know that they made war in this manner. Several of

these very men took service afterwards in the Hungarian army, and became strongly attached to our cause. This was far from the object I had in view, however, in paying them this trifling attention : I was moved with pity at seeing gallant men in such a state of destitution, walking barefooted in the frost and snow at that bitterly severe season of the year. I thought the inevitable sufferings and horrors of war sufficiently dreadful, without the addition of misery that might be avoided.

The humane treatment of prisoners of war appears to me not only a high moral duty, but also as eminently good policy. Of what advantage was it to the designs of Austria, when she delivered over to the hangman, or thrust into the dungeon, the Hungarians who fell into their hands ? Did it advance her projects one step, to score the backs of her prisoners with the rod of the common executioner, even when these prisoners were delicate and high-born females ? I say emphatically, No. Her temporary triumph over the Hungarian nation was achieved neither by her own force nor policy ; but by the mere brute force of the Scythian hordes which came to her assistance ; nor does her present power exist but in appearance. All history teaches the great lesson, that when a ruler is forced upon a people, his authority is commensurate only with the mere physical force which placed him on the throne. The power that created it alone can preserve it. The

obedience yielded to such authority is reluctant—it comes from fear, not from inclination.

The roots of an enduring dynasty must be fixed in the affection of the people; but the cold-blooded cruelties of Austria have hardened the heart of Hungary against her, it repels her claims; and long after the merits of the recent contest shall have been forgotten by the people, the noble and innocent blood which she has shed will cry from the ground for retribution. The names of her victims will become household words in the cottages of the peasantry; whilst she will be spoken of as some hideous ghoul, which preyed upon the helpless and dishonoured the dead.

Though the issue of the contest was fatal to my country, yet have I never for a moment regretted the generous treatment which the Austrian prisoners received at our hands. Our noble cause is unsullied by a stain; and had we to deal with opponents accessible to justice, generosity, or even reason, our conduct would have smoothed the way to a peaceful arrangement of all our differences. I endeavoured to indoctrinate the honved officer with these opinions, as we sat at dinner, and found him quite prepared for their reception, though he said there were many practical difficulties in the way of their general application.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Arrival at Debreczin, and interview with Kossuth—Advice to him to visit the army—He adopts it—Residence at Debreczin—Dinner at Field-Marshal Kiss's—Unaccountable depression of mind—Intelligence of the battle of Kapolna—Görgey's tardiness—Murderous conflict at Verpelet—A Hungarian amazon—Kossuth's visit to the graves of those who had fallen at Kapolna—His prayer—Kossuth's return to Debreczin—Interview with him—Leisure at Debreczin—State of that town—Narrow escape of General Perczel from the Austrians—His character as a General—Visit from Meszaros.

THE journey was unmarked by any other incident worthy of record. We reached Debreczin at three o'clock in the afternoon, and I deemed it my duty to seek an interview with the President without delay. He received me with his wonted cordiality. I delivered to him the money and receipts which Lutzinsky had received from Motoschitzky, and the despatches with which I had been intrusted. I also gave him a minute and accurate verbal report of all I had learned during my absence, and of all that I had done. I thought he appeared greatly disconcerted at my intelligence. After a pause, during

which he seemed to reflect profoundly, he said he had just received a despatch, by courier, from Dembinski's camp, containing the resignations of sixty officers, who refused to serve under him any longer. The reader will remember that this was not new to me.

I told Kossuth that I had already heard something of it. "Now then," said he, "I shall hear the simple truth from you. You have been with the army—you know the disposition of the troops—tell me the exact state of matters." I replied: "As you require it from me, I feel bound in duty to make known to you, without reserve, the impression made upon me by all I have seen and heard amongst the various corps. It is my firm opinion that General Dembinski is not qualified for the chief command of our armies in the present position of the country. I believe that his appointment is the chief, if not the only, cause of all this unhappy agitation and discontent which prevails amongst the troops. We knew nothing of such disturbances before his accession to office, and it will become continually more difficult to put an end to them, unless you, my Lord President, resolve immediately to make use of the only means which offer any hope of terminating this ruinous discord." "What means are those?" said he. "That you, yourself," I replied, "proceed at once to the army. Your personal appearance amongst the soldiers will do more to

satisfy their minds, and restore harmony, than any other measure which can possibly be devised; and permit me to add, that this step on your part is urgently necessary, for the discontent of the troops is very great, and is increasing every day. There are also strong grounds to apprehend that the disaffection of Görgey will extend to all the officers of his corps; for although they have not yet expressed themselves so openly as Dembinski's officers, I have seen and heard enough to convince me that they are equally displeased with the present state of the army."

Kossuth remained silent for some time, buried in reflection. At last he looked at me steadily and said: "Yes, Baroness, I believe you are right. It will be the simplest and best remedy for these evils. I shall immediately make my arrangements, and proceed to Dembinski's head-quarters. I see its necessity. Accept my cordial thanks for your candid and wise counsel. Your words carry a force of truth which can neither be resisted nor doubted. Remain here until I return, and repose yourself after the fatigues of your weary pilgrimage. I have a mission of the last importance to confide to you. Till then, let me say farewell, lest I should not see you again before my departure." I bade him God-speed, and wished him a happy result to his journey.

On returning to my hotel, I felt like one in a



dream. This day my feeble ministry had been again the means of bringing about a most salutary event. I felt it a high honour to have contributed to the first step towards a cordial union amongst our great men. Let not the reader blame me if I felt proud also, that Kossuth, whose supreme genius was universally acknowledged, had adopted my advice, and confessed the force of the reasoning upon which it was founded. I had the gratifying consciousness that my fatigues and privations had not been endured in vain, since they accredited me as a devoted friend to the fatherland, and qualified me to offer right counsels to those who guided its destinies.

After this, I spent a fortnight in comparative idleness, enjoying all the comforts and pleasures with which Debreczin, at that time, abounded. My evenings were passed at the assemblies and *soirées*, which followed one another rapidly; and my mornings, in paying and receiving visits amongst the multitude of friends and acquaintances whom I found at the seat of Government. But I began soon to tire of this indolent waste of time, and to imagine the nature of the great mission to which Kossuth had alluded, and which was to carry me once more into the field and the camp. I was disgusted at being an object of public attention, and at being compelled to hear my adventures, and the dangers I had escaped, spoken of in every company, until

they swelled to a degree of exaggeration which was monstrous and incredible. I longed also to escape from the clatter and bustle of the city, which had become almost intolerable.

One day I went to dine with Field-Marshal Kiss ; but I felt an unaccountable depression of spirits, and could not bring myself to join in the conversation which was going on. A great number of distinguished persons were present, and all were exceedingly animated. The Field-Marshal, perceiving that I was silent and retired, came to me, and very kindly asked me if I was unwell. I was really ashamed of my gloominess, and made some excuse to the Field-Marshal, which did not satisfy him. He sat down by me, and endeavoured to draw me into conversation ; but it was in vain : I was quite out of my element. Kossuth's long delay had led me to suspect that he had found matters much worse with the army than they were even when I left. I knew, also, that if Kossuth did not succeed in soothing the irritation of the troops, and in establishing harmony between them and the Commander-in-Chief, the worst results were to be apprehended. Schlick had by this time completely recovered from his defeat, and with Windischgrätz at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, fresh from several weeks' repose, was ready to commence offensive operations against our disunited and dissatisfied troops. I told Kiss that these

thoughts so preyed upon my mind, that I was unfit for company. He remonstrated with me ; but finding it was useless, he very kindly accompanied me to my hotel in his own carriage, telling me by the way that he was hourly expecting a courier with despatches from Kossuth, which would contain intelligence calculated to set my mind at rest ; and promised to communicate with me immediately upon their arrival. I remained alone the whole evening, expecting a message from Kiss, but at length retired to rest, at the repeated solicitations of my maid, full of dark anticipations.

On the following day, which was the 1st of March, a courier arrived from Kossuth, with despatches, and amongst other intelligence, that of the great battle of Kapolna. This was one of the most important battles of the whole war, whether considered in its results upon the issue of the contest, or in reference to its merely military aspect, and the distinguished Generals opposed to one another on the occasion. On our side were Dembinski, Görgey, Poltenberg, Klapka, and Guyon ; on that of the Austrians, Schlick, Götz, Lichtenstein, and several others of equal fame. On the Theiss, Aulich and Damjanich were opposed to Jellachich and Ottinger. Görgey, it is probable, intended to allow Dembinski to bear the first brunt of the Imperialists' attack, and then to appear suddenly and save him from being overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the

enemy; he would thus turn the fortunes of the day, and be hailed as the hero of the battle. All his subsequent movements justify this opinion, which in itself would be an exceedingly probable inference, from his insatiable craving for military renown. He was mistaken in his calculations, however, for Dembinski's corps defended itself bravely from the repeated attacks of the enemy. It was in vain that Görgey kept aloof from the combat until he could interfere with *éclat*; and when he did bring up his forces, it was too late to play the part of rescuer—the enemy had retired before the obstinate valour of Dembinski's troops.

It was on this occasion that Dembinski is reported to have said that "Görgey deserved to be shot." Guyon was rather a passive spectator than an active participator in this engagement. He was assigned the post of observation, and covered Dembinski's corps as it retired, on the second day after the battle. Numerous examples of personal bravery marked the events of the day; and the several regiments vied with one another in daring. The village of Verpelet was the scene of a murderous conflict. It was occupied early in the day by the Austrians, and formed a strong support to that part of their line; but a battalion of the Italian Legion, Zanini, supported by our Tyrolese jagers, took it by storm, with dreadful carnage. They held it for a long time, in spite of numerous and desperate attempts to dislodge

them. Their obstinacy, however, continued too long; for though they saw an overwhelming force of the enemy brought up to attack them, they refused to relinquish the village, and were completely surrounded. The jagers cut their way through the enemy; but the unfortunate Zanini grenadiers were taken prisoners, notwithstanding repeated and sanguinary efforts on the part of our hussars to rescue them. The Austrians were specially exasperated against the Zanini regiment, for it had come over to us from the Imperial service in the beginning of the war. Kossuth afterwards thanked the Tyrolese jagers personally, in the presence of the army, for their heroic efforts.

There was one individual whose conduct was the theme of universal admiration, and that person, strange to say, was a young female. A certain mystery hung round her origin and family. Her name was Caroline, but she was known in the army by the name of Carl; her real surname was never known. Instances are not uncommon of females performing deeds of extraordinary valour, under powerful excitement. The Maid of Saragossa braved the French fire to avenge a fallen lover, and Joan of Arc became a heroine through the power of glowing devotion. The motive which actuated Carl it is impossible to divine, unless we attribute it to a burning love of liberty, and hatred to despotism. However this may be, she appeared first in the insurrec-

tion at Vienna, and fought with astonishing daring throughout the whole of that sanguinary struggle. Her sex was then unknown, as she was dressed in male attire. After the suppression of the popular party in Vienna, she was lost sight of for a few days, when she was recognised under the uniform of the German Legion, into which she had enlisted, at Raab. From this corps she changed into the Tyrolese jagers, where, by her good conduct and bravery, she soon became a non-commissioned officer. She fell, desperately wounded, whilst fighting in the thick of the conflict at Verpelet ; but preserved sufficient consciousness and presence of mind to crawl to the side of a wall, where she lay still whilst the battle raged round her, and the combatants passed over her repeatedly. As soon as the battle was over, she dragged herself to a place where her wounds were attended to, and she rapidly recovered from them.

Her next appearance was at Debreczin, where she applied to Kossuth for permission to serve in the hussars—it was granted ; and here again her good conduct was so conspicuous, that she advanced rapidly from one step of promotion to another, till she attained the grade of an officer. She then, to the total abnegation of her cloth, married a brother officer, a Major of the artillery. The happiness of her married life was not destined to a long continuance. Her husband was soon after taken pri-

soner by the Austrians, and the last intelligence she ever heard from him informed her that he was about to be tried as a rebel before an Austrian court-martial. His fate may be easily divined: no doubt he died, like so many other brave men, by the decree of that lawless and savage tribunal. Since that event, poor Caroline herself has also been lost sight of. If she has survived the shock, it is probably only to spend, in some distant retirement, the remains of a broken heart, in mourning, like others, over a slaughtered husband and a ruined country.

As to the result of the battle of Kapolna, there can be no question that victory was on the side of the Hungarians. The Austrians were driven from all their positions, and relinquished their attacks, retiring in good order certainly on their retreat to Pesth, but leaving the Hungarians unequivocally masters of the field of battle. It was an advantage dearly purchased, however; many a noble and heroic eye closed for ever on the fatal plains of Kapolna. The dead were buried with all the pomp and ceremony of military mourning; the flag of Hungary was lowered over their graves, as if to take a last farewell of its gallant champions, whilst the thunder of the cannon spoke the soldier's requiem.

Kossuth afterwards visited the graves of the fallen heroes, when a scene of strong excitement and

powerful interest took place. They who have never seen Kossuth can have no idea of the sublime, almost spiritual, expression which pervades his noble face and figure, when excited by some great thought or splendid imagining. There he stood, by the last resting-place of many of his dearest friends, and of thousands whose fearless hearts but a few short hours before beat in unison with his own, in its high aspirations after national liberty and glory. His look was inexpressibly mournful, as he gazed at the multitude of recent sepulchres in which the fallen brave were laid to their long repose. He appeared to cast a true glance into the passing nature of all that is earthly, however noble or esteemed; but even from the contemplation of the dead he seemed to catch a fresh portion of that pure and heroic spirit which animated them whilst living. He raised his face to heaven, and uncovered his head—an action in which he was imitated by all present; a smile of unearthly beauty played round his lips—it was not kindled by joy, but by faith—as he clasped his hands together, and, with a bearing that can never be forgotten, uttered the following prayer. It was afterwards printed, and is worth a record in the language of another land.

“ Exalted Ruler of the Universe, God of the warriors of Arpad, look down from Thy starry throne upon Thine unworthy servant, from whose lips the prayer of millions ascends to heaven, extolling the



infinite power of Thine omnipotence. My God, Thy bright sun shines above me, whilst beneath my knees rest the bones of my fallen brothers. Thy stainless azure over-canopies us ; but beneath, the earth is red with the sacred blood of the children of our fathers. Let the fructifying beams of Thy glorious luminary shine upon their graves, that the crimson hue may be replaced with flowers, and the last resting-place of the brave be still crowned with the emblems of liberty. God of my fathers and of my race, hear my supplications ; let Thy blessing rest upon our warriors, by whose arms the spirit of a gallant nation seeks to defend Thine own precious gift of freedom. Help them to break the iron fetters with which blind despotism would bind a great people. As a freeman, I prostrate myself before Thee, on these fresh graves of my slaughtered brethren. Accept the bloody offering which has been presented to Thee, and let it propitiate Thy favour to our land. My God, suffer not a race of slaves to dwell by these graves, nor pollute this consecrated soil with their unhallowed footsteps. My Father, my Father, mightier than all the myriads of earth, the Infinite Ruler of heaven, earth, and ocean, let a reflex of Thy glory shine from these lowly sepulchres upon the face of my people. Consecrate this spot by Thy grace, that the ashes of my brothers who have fallen in this sacred cause may rest undisturbed in hallowed repose.

Forsake us not in the hour of need, Great God of battles. Bless our efforts to promote that liberty of which Thine own spirit is the essence; for to Thee, in the name of a whole people, I ascribe all honour and praise."

Kossuth returned to Debreczin on the night of the 2nd. The city was in a tumult of joy; nothing could exceed the vividness of the popular feeling of triumph. On the following evening, I proceeded to his residence. He happened to have a moment of leisure, and received me with great warmth. "Thanks—many thanks, dear Baroness," said he, "for the accurate information you gave me of the state of matters in the army. I found everything exactly as you represented it. I have taken effectual measures to re-establish harmony between the troops and their officers. Dembinski is superseded in the chief command by General Vetter. I remained during my absence from Debreczin with Dembinski's corps; but I must proceed immediately to Görgey's, to make such arrangements as I shall find necessary. Görgey came too late to assist in the battle, and it was a most fortunate circumstance that I was there myself; for my presence, whilst it seemed to inflame the courage of the soldiers, gave them also sufficient self-command to wait for his arrival."

He then told me how he had thanked the gallant Tyrolese jagers; and when I mentioned his sublime

prayer, and its extraordinary effects on all who heard it, he said it was an involuntary impulse to relieve his bosom of the overwhelming feeling excited by seeing the multitude of brave men who had fallen in the cause to which he had devoted his life. "And now," said he, "it is absolutely necessary that I should visit Görgey's camp as soon as possible. I shall only wait to set in order the most urgent matters here; but they are many and important. Should I ever return from this journey, I shall have matters of the utmost moment, in which your assistance will be necessary; until then, farewell!"

Again my time was unoccupied by serious concerns; the society and amusements of Debreczin offered their attractions, and I confess I enjoyed both with far greater relish than at any previous period during my residence in that city. My mind was entirely relieved from the painful apprehensions which had filled it in anticipating the attack of the Austrians upon our discontented and unprepared army. The battle of Kapolna had dissipated my dread of the Austrians, and Kossuth had allayed the irritation of the troops by removing the great stumbling-block—Dembinski; besides, the President had given me the prospect of being again engaged in serving my country actively, after which I longed with my whole heart. I accepted an invitation from Lutzinsky and his lady to rusticate with them for a day at one of his country-seats. He had resigned his

position as Government Commissioner, and now attended the sittings of the Hungarian Diet, of which he was a member.

The district around Debreczin to a considerable distance is a dead level, but exceedingly fertile, producing wheat and Turkish maize in extraordinary abundance. The melons grown here are peculiarly excellent, and in such quantities that the cattle are fed upon them principally. There was nothing particularly attractive in the landscape, and I returned to Debreczin the next day with pleasure, accompanied by my kind host and hostess. Debreczin was not prepared for the immense concourse which thronged it in every quarter whilst it remained the seat of Government. The streets were unpaved, and so cut up with vehicles of every description, assisted by the late frosts and rains, that it was impossible to pass them on foot, through the deep and tenacious mire with which they were covered. A thousand ridiculous accidents were continually occurring, which provoked the laughter of the spectators and were borne with great good-humour by the sufferers: in fact, the animating spirit of our great cause drew all ranks and individuals closer together, and prepared men to bear with cheerfulness, and even with pleasure, many things which, in the absence of such inspiration, would have been deemed serious inconveniences.

During my stay at Debreczin, I received visits

from several distinguished individuals, amongst others, Perczel called upon me one day. He had been restored to active command in the army. He told me that, after he had lost his command in consequence of the battle of Murr, he visited his wife, who was residing at his country-seat, where he ran a narrow risk of losing his liberty, if not his life. The Austrians had received information from some traitor, that Perczel was living privately in his own house, which was within the district in their occupation. They immediately determined to capture him, and, for this purpose, drew a cordon round his residence, which was contracted gradually on all sides till the house was thoroughly invested. They were quite certain that he had not escaped, for they had kept their eyes upon the whole space inclosed within the cordon, and nobody had either entered or departed from the house since their scrutiny had commenced.

A few shepherds and labourers in the fields looked on with vacant terror whilst these measures were taken for the destruction of their master. The Austrians entered the dwelling, searched all the apartments, closets, and cupboards, boxes, drawers, and presses, from the roof to the foundation. They ripped open the beds, and left no place uninvestigated throughout the premises where a man could, by any possibility, be concealed. Still they could not find their prey; it was manifest he had escaped, in

despite of all their vigilance. The enraged Austrians were compelled to depart, and wreaked their disappointment upon poor Madame Perczel, whom they shamefully insulted and abused. Had they been less eager in the pursuit of their intended victim, and allowed their eyes to stray for a moment from the spot where they thought he was concealed, they might have seen one of the shepherds, as soon as he found himself outside the cordon, creep along a hedge cautiously, until he approached a grove, in the thickets of which he disappeared ; could they have still kept him in view, they might have seen him traverse the grove rapidly, and when he reached the other side, run with all his speed in the direction of the mountains, where he was seen no more.

It was Perczel. He had received secret intelligence of the Austrians' design, and dressing himself as a shepherd, he had just time to escape into the fields before his enemies caught a view of his dwelling. He assumed the appearance and bearing of a peasant with such admirable coolness, that the soldiers passed him by without notice, whilst closing in upon the house. He ran a thousand risks of detection by the Austrian patrols and outposts subsequently, but succeeded at length in reaching the Hungarian army, after enduring incredible fatigue and hardships. I congratulated him heartily upon his marvellous escape, and wished him every good fortune in his new command. He was a gallant

and faithful soldier, but erred on the side of daring. His temerity was such that he never calculated consequences. His whole soul was concentrated upon the attack ; and reckoning upon victory only, he was always unprepared with resources in case of defeat.

The grey-headed Nestor, Meszaros, also visited me. He seemed to have recovered partially from the intense mortification in which I had last found him. He spoke with animation of the prospects of the nation and the probable issue of the war.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Important mission from Kossuth—Preparations for departure—Arrival of Görgey and Danielis at Debreczin—Görgey's disposition—His hatred of Kossuth—Its origin and progress—Estimate of his motives—His meeting with Kossuth—Visit from Görgey and Danielis—Departure from Debreczin and arrival at Tokay—Madame Görgey—Cool reception of Görgey at Miskolcz—Failure of the design to march upon Pesth—Interview with General Vetter—Another break-down—Entrance into Pesth in disguise.

At length, after nine days had thus flown in inactivity, Kossuth returned. I waited upon him on the evening of the following day, and found him in a humour unusually gay for him. I caught his cheerful spirit at once, for I had an intuitive persuasion that his visit to Görgey's camp had been successful. After the usual compliments, he led me to a seat, and said : " My dear Baroness, I have to make to you a request ; it relates to a matter of the greatest importance, and will require all your skill and energy. I am about to intrust you with a mission of essential moment to the cause in which we are engaged. It will carry you into many dangers



and hardships, and occupy much time; but it is for the fatherland, and you are a daughter of Arpad."

I told him I was ready by life and by death. He then told me it was essential that I should visit Görgey's camp, which was still at Tokay, though it was afterwards removed to Miskolcz—not for the purpose of communicating with Görgey, from whom the President had just returned, and who was expected on a visit to him in a few days—I was to remain at Tokay till the Hungarians had removed from thence, and the place had been taken possession of by the Austrians, who were already on their march. When they arrived, I was to ascertain their strength and disposition, with all particulars, the knowledge of which would be likely to be advantageous to our cause; from thence I was to proceed to Pesth, and observe the proceedings of the enemy, and communicate from thence all the information I had acquired to Kossuth. "In what manner you will be able to accomplish all this," said he, "I must leave altogether to your own resources: I know they will not fail you. Comfort our true-hearted brethren in Pesth. Tell them to bear their present difficulties with patience, and to look forward with assured confidence to better times; for the God of Hungary still lives, and will not forsake His faithful people. From Pesth," he continued, "you must proceed to Vienna, and bear a letter to the — Ambassador, with whom

you are already acquainted. I am convinced that your presence there will greatly animate and encourage all our friends and colleagues. Tell the gallant Viennese not to despair of the firmness and bravery of the Hungarians. We will ! yes, we will ! make them yet share in that glorious freedom for which we are fighting. From Vienna, you must go to Prague. There you will find a few members of the scattered Austrian Diet who are native Bohemians. Ascertain from them the disposition of the Bohemian people as regards Hungary, and the nature of the estimate they form of our proceedings. From thence you must visit successively Dresden, Leipsig, and Breslau. I will give you letters relating to the purchase of arms and their transmission to us, which I entreat you to deliver carefully. It will be necessary also that you take one hundred and forty thousand florins to pay for them, which will be a heavy and serious charge for you. The last subject upon which I wished to speak with you refers to a matter recently brought under my notice by yourself. You have informed me, and I feel with truth, that we have been paying extravagant prices for many articles of clothing for the army, such as cloth, linen, ticken, and other materials. The army must have lighter clothing for the approaching summer, and I wish much to put your economical hints in practice, so that we may obtain the various articles at a more reasonable charge. You will,

therefore have the goodness to visit the manufactories of such fabrics in Moravia on your return, and contract with them as you see most advantageous for the necessary supplies. The manufacturers must engage to deliver the various articles upon the Hungarian frontiers, where they shall be duly paid for in ready cash. I know not how the prices of such things range, but you will receive all such information from the Minister of the Commissariat. You have now my commission. I have named everything which is of the most pressing importance; but the whole shall be clearly drawn up in writing. It is a fearful undertaking—of that I am distinctly conscious; but our country requires the service, and if you cannot accomplish it, it is vain to ask any one else.”

I thanked him sincerely for the distinguished confidence he had again placed in me, and promised faithfully to accomplish everything as he had directed. Indeed, his slightest wishes were sacred to me; for I have never known him form a desire or hope for himself alone—all was for the fatherland. I regarded him with a species of superstition, as I would look upon its guardian genius. At his command, I could at any time have joyfully laid down my life for the promotion of our great cause.

Having received further directions respecting preparations for my journey, and having arranged the time and place at which I should receive the various

sums to be expended, and my written instructions, I took leave, and was surprised to find that my conference with the President had continued till past midnight. The next day, I gave my maid notice of my intended journey, and directed her to get everything in readiness for our departure, at a moment's notice.

I also waited upon the Commissary-General, according to Kossuth's directions, and was received with great friendliness by General Repashi. I told him my object in calling, at which he seemed a good deal astonished, but directed one of his subordinates to hand me at once a list of all their prices.

On my return to my hotel, my maid informed me that General Görgey and Colonel Danielis had just entered the town, and had put up at a hotel in the neighbourhood. They had already waited upon the President at the Stadt-house, in order to announce their arrival, and pay him their personal respects. I was greatly rejoiced at this intelligence, as I thought it indicated a better understanding between Kossuth and Görgey. I soon found, however, that the animated and friendly manner of Görgey was only assumed. I marked a thousand little circumstances which escaped the eyes of the President, but which were clear proofs to me that Görgey's apparent cordiality did not spring from the heart: and so it proved, for all his efforts henceforth were directed to the one object of preventing any one

from occupying permanently the post from which Dembinski had been removed ; a circumstance which would, of course, have subjected Görgey to the commands of another : to such an arrangement, his impatient and ambitious spirit could never submit. Nothing gave him pleasure, unless it tended to advance himself ; and to those who, like myself, had observed him closely, it became every day more distinctly evident that he had entered the Hungarian service not so much through a feeling of patriotism, as to build up for himself a military reputation. The paucity of experienced leaders in our army, on the one hand, and his unquestionable ability and fiery bravery on the other, brought him speedily into notice, and facilitated his career to the highest commands.

Having attained the post of Commander-in-Chief, he imagined himself to be the only man in Hungary who could effectually oppose the Austrians, and his services therefore as indispensable to the national cause. It is just possible also that Kossuth, in the beginning, controlled him too much ; but, however this may be, Görgey very soon arrived at such an extravagant estimate of himself, that he would not receive directions either from Kossuth or from the Council of Ministers. Görgey had received all his promotion through the influence of Kossuth, who, on this account, felt himself doubly bound to watch his proceedings ; not only because he felt himself

responsible to the nation and to the Diet for the conduct of a man for whom he had pledged himself publicly, but also because the army, at whose head Görgey had been placed, was the sole defence of the country from its numerous and powerful enemies. Well might Kossuth be excused, therefore, if, under the twofold exigency of his own honour and the safety of the nation, he had been somewhat too pressing in his advice and instructions to Görgey.

The military skill and experience of the latter was frequently shocked by the theoretical counsels of Kossuth, and his ambition deeply wounded by the interference of one whom he regarded as a mere civilian. Görgey could not conceal from himself the patent fact that he owed his elevation to the President; but this consciousness of obligation, instead of awakening his gratitude, unsealed that fountain of bitterness in his heart, which at length poured itself out upon the whole land at Villagos, because it honoured the man whom he hated. It is difficult, nay, impossible, to trace the intricate motives which actuate men, and especially to fathom the designs of a person of Görgey's temperament. One thing, however, was manifest to all clear-sighted men at this time; namely, that Görgey wished to stand alone, and to operate as he thought proper, without subordination or responsibility. His famous retreat through the mountain

cities had covered his name with glory; even his enemies spoke of it as one of the boldest, most skilful, and fortunately concluded movements in military history. This was grateful incense to his proud spirit. He dreaded to lose a particle of it, and wished to exclude all others from its participation. To be the one great man of the war, the sole saviour of the fatherland, to be raised above all comparison and rivalry—these were the objects that filled the soul of Görgey; not to labour and endure, and, if necessary, to die unknown for the land that gave him birth: he was incapable of this sublime heroism. His ambition was of the more vulgar kind, which pants after distinction, and perishes without praise.

I had unlimited opportunities of observing his conduct, and studying his character; and what I now state concerning him is not an opinion rashly arrived at, but a calm estimate, slowly and even reluctantly formed, not alone from his public actions, but from a thousand minute circumstances in his ordinary conduct, which, though they might pass unobserved by men, must be noted and read by a woman's eye; and, in their cumulative evidence, force conviction upon the mind, however sceptical. The feelings which animated himself he was but too successful in communicating to others. He was distinguished for all the rude virtues which attract the admiration of the mere soldier, and his influence

over his own corps was in consequence unbounded. He made use of this influence to instil into those under his command, officers as well as others, a jealousy and contempt of everything that was done at Debreczin. Knowing all this, I was extremely anxious to observe his conduct in Kossuth's presence, though I had no fear that he would not behave with propriety at the very seat of Government.

I was occupied with these thoughts when Colonel Danielis was announced. He came most opportunely, to give me a description of Görgey's reception by Kossuth. He represented it as very cordial and flattering. He said that Kossuth had proposed to invest one hundred thousand florins for the benefit of Madame Görgey, in case her husband should fall in battle; but he declined it, saying that he had married his wife when she was a poor governess, and should he meet his death on the field of honour, she must return to her former condition, without any legacy, except his renown. Such was his pride, and obstinate dislike of his benefactor, that he would consign a wife—whom he had married for love—to probable misery, rather than be indebted to the hated Kossuth, even mediately, for an ample and honourable provision for her.

Danielis and Görgey were both to dine at the Stadt-house, so that the former was obliged to



leave me, before he had fully satisfied my curiosity. After dinner, however, both called upon me to take leave, as they were about to set out immediately for the camp. I told Görgey that I intended to be in his camp on the 15th; upon which he said that it would be very opportune, as he intended to celebrate, on the 16th, the anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution by the Emperor Ferdinand, with a grand military ball at Tokay. A strange celebration, I thought, when we were obliged to shed our blood in defence of that very Constitution, against the unparalleled faithlessness of Ferdinand's successor and his advisers. I promised to be present, however, and the two officers took their leave. I then visited the Secretary of State, Dushek, who gave me the necessary orders upon the national treasury, and very warmly wished me success in my enterprise. I drew from the treasury one hundred and forty thousand florins in Austrian paper, and then waited upon Kossuth for my despatches and written instructions. He had them all prepared, and as he gave them to me, asked me, in a playful manner, in what character I intended to appear on this mission? I answered that I intended to travel as a milliner, at which he laughed heartily.

I was glad to see him unbend from his consuming anxieties, even for a moment; and showed him a long list of fashionable articles, which I intended to purchase. I pointed out to him their uses and

adaptation to the season, and had the gratification of amusing him very much; but his seriousness soon returned. He impressed upon me once more, with the greatest minuteness and perspicuity, every point of importance to which it would be my duty to attend. He told me further, that he intended to visit the camp again, and that it was probable we should meet there. It appeared to me that he was not thoroughly satisfied with the state of things in the army, and wished to make another attempt to put matters upon a better footing. I took my leave of him with many thoughts, his cordial commendation to the care of Providence sounding encouragingly in my ears.

The next morning, at twilight, I was on the road to Tokay. I travelled in my own carriage, accompanied by my maid only. We stopped at the hotel where Görgey had fixed his head-quarters. The place swarmed with officers of every kind of troops, who laughed, and played, and conversed, with the careless gaiety which always characterizes the soldier in time of war. I found my lodgings already prepared for me, and was glad to avail myself of the rest and retirement they offered, after the fatigues of the day.

The next day I paid a visit to Madame Görgey. I cannot tell how she felt in the companionship of her rude and obdurate husband, but she seemed to me totally unfitted to bear with his manners and

caprices. She was a Frenchwoman, highly educated, and of an imaginative and susceptible temperament. She seemed to have grown tired of campaigning, and looked most unhappy when I entered her saloon. I endeavoured to comfort her, by telling her that the inconveniences and miseries of war were only preparatory to the full and permanent blessings of that peace for which we were contending. She seemed to anticipate the ball which was to take place in the evening with much pleasure: poor thing! to her it must have been like a gleam of sunshine across the gloom of her domestic life. I did not enjoy the pleasures of the evening so much as I could have done had I been less known, for I was engaged the greater part of the time in conversing with one and another who wished to make my acquaintance, and whom I could not repulse without rudeness.

On the following day, the army marched to Miskolcz, where Görgey was received this time with great coolness. The people were displeased with him for his wilful tardiness at the battle of Kapolna; and besides this, many rumours began to circulate by no means to his advantage. The consequence was, that his entrance was greeted by a few ragged urchins only, whilst the citizens remained quietly in their homes. Görgey was sorely mortified at this change in the public feeling, though he pretended to regard it with the utmost indifference.

This assumed carelessness was, to those who knew him, a subject of much amusement ; for they were not sorry that his insatiable pride should receive a check. The march was to be continued on the following day, and Görgey, who began to find his wife an encumbrance, determined to leave her behind at Miskolcz. I hastened to visit her, and consoled her as much as possible under the circumstances. The army took up a position at Mezökövesz. The head-quarters were fixed at a village two hours' distant. I proceeded thither, and took up my quarters at a hotel in which I was known since my Gallician journey.

A few days afterwards, Görgey sent one of his aides-de-camp to request my presence in his quarters. I went immediately. He told me he had just received intelligence that Kossuth was at the head-quarters of General Vetter. The reader will remember that Vetter had succeeded Dembinski in the chief command. Görgey then requested me to proceed thither, and bring him an account of what should be determined upon. He said it had been agreed that the two armies should form a junction and march upon Pesth, where the Austrians had taken refuge after the battle of Kapolna ; but that this plan had failed through an unforeseen obstruction—it had rained incessantly for four days, and the Theiss was swollen to such a degree that it was impossible for Vetter to pass it with his corps.

The neighbouring district had been overflowed also, and rendered so soft and swampy that the artillery could not be moved through it, and where it was attempted it required twenty horses to save one piece of cannon from sinking altogether in the morass. Görgey was now, therefore, without any settled design, and knew not what to do.

I went to General Vetter's head-quarters, and made known to him Görgey's embarrassment. Kossuth had just taken his departure. I could easily perceive by Vetter's manner of speaking and acting, that he was not in earnest in the discharge of the duties of his post. He told me he was undecided as to what step he should next take; and, after many fruitless efforts to obtain some definite message for Görgey, I at last succeeded in getting him to say that he intended making another attempt to cross the Theiss on the following day. I was obliged to be satisfied with this meagre announcement, and set out immediately on my return to Görgey.

The weather was dreadfully bad; a keen and fierce north wind bore along a hard powdery snow, which penetrated every chink in my carriage, and almost chilled me as I sat within. This was comfort itself, however, compared with what I had to endure afterwards; for as I was indulging my longings after a good fire and a warm chamber, an axle of the carriage suddenly broke, and we re-

mained motionless on the high road. To add to our other miseries, it was now dark night. We proceeded on foot to the next village. There, however, we could find no accommodation, and were obliged to continue our journey in an open country cart, seated upon a truss of straw. The snow fell so rapidly, that it formed quite a heap round us, and so bitter was the wind, that when we arrived at Görgey's quarters, I could scarcely move my limbs or open my lips.

I did not wish to see Görgey, as I was not in a condition to speak to him, but I requested Colonel Danielis to inform him of the result of my interview with Vetter, which I communicated as well as I could, and to say to the General that I intended immediately to set out for Pesth, and hoped to be in Erlau on my way the next morning. He sent me a very polite message, expressive of his sorrow at not being able to speak to me, and hoping to see me again at Erlau. After recovering from my torpidity, and taking a little rest, I set out for Erlau, and commenced my preparations for entering Pesth by assuming a disguise. I purchased a front of red hair, and dyed my eyebrows of the same colour. I then got a small cap, which covered the rest of my head, and having dressed myself in a suitable manner, my glass told me that I was sufficiently transformed to pass unnoticed by my most intimate acquaintances.

To test my transfiguration, however, I waited upon Görgey, who had just arrived, and was engaged with the Commissioner, Rebeczky. I announced myself as a person who had something particular to communicate, and when I was introduced, I remained standing before them without speaking for some time. They appeared to expect some announcement of importance, and looked at me with great curiosity. I asked Görgey if he did not know me. He seemed completely bewildered at the sound of my voice, but replied that he had not that honour. The disguise was perfect. I told them who I was, and they laughed till I thought they would never leave off. At last I was obliged to recal them to the importance of my enterprise, but the tones of my voice awakened their mirth afresh, and it was with moist eyes and trembling sides that Rebeczky at last gave orders to the proper officer to make out my pass to Pesth and Vienna.

In this paper I was described as a milliner. Görgey directed me to halt at the encampment of Colonel Poltenberg, and to disclose to him the object of my journey. He further begged of me, should I find it necessary to write to him, to address my letters in the first instance to Poltenberg, whose quarters would be nearer to me, and who would forward them to Görgey. He said also, that it would be advisable to let Poltenberg know

all that I could learn concerning the strength and position of the enemy.

On the same day, as soon as I had got my carriage repaired, I set out alone for Poltenberg's head-quarters at Kapolna, leaving my maid at Erlau. I told him everything as Görgey had directed, and was much gratified by his kindness and attention. He provided exceedingly comfortable lodgings for me. The following day I set out, charged with a number of letters from the officers to their wives. My next halting-place was Guyöngyös, where I found the population assembled in a tumultuary manner, vowing that they only waited to be led against the Austrians by their Hungarian countrymen. The town was afterwards punished for its patriotism by a ruinous fine.

In the evening I reached Hatvan, about five hours' distant from Pesth. The enemy's outposts were but one half-hour distant, and Schlick's encampment but three hours. Here, therefore, the risk and danger of my journey were to commence. I knew that a pass made out from here would be unsuspecting, for the whole of this district was regarded as neutral. I applied, therefore, to the Mayor, whom I found to be a sterling Magyar. I discovered myself to him; he entered into my plan with all his heart, and very speedily made out a pass, such as I required. He was thoroughly acquainted with the Austrians' movements in his



neighbourhood, and gave me a great deal of valuable information, which I reduced to writing and sent off immediately to Poltenberg, by the coachman who drove back my carriage.

I arranged with the Mayor to send a courier every six hours to Poltenberg after my departure, and to keep him supplied with the earliest intelligence of the movements of the Imperialists. This the Mayor faithfully performed. He introduced to me also a young man who had frequently carried despatches for the Government, and whom I found a very intelligent person, belonging to a wealthy and respectable family. He promised to meet me in Pesth in a few days' time, and if I should have any despatches of importance to Kossuth, he said he would undertake to bear them, even at the risk of his life.

I sewed all my papers, as before, in the lining of my winter-fur, and resumed my journey from Hatvan towards the enemy's posts. I was obliged to travel as I best could, sometimes getting a lift in a country cart, between the villages, and at other times, especially through the villages, on foot; for the Austrians had there rendered the roads impassable to vehicles, by cutting them up with trenches for the purpose of obstructing the march of the Hungarians. This was a very fruitless precaution, for our army, on its march to Pesth afterwards, perversely passed round the villages,

through the broad, level fields, instead of walking into the ditches which had been prepared for them so considerably, and with so much forethought.

The first of the hostile outposts with which I met was a detachment of the cuirassier regiment, Franz. They allowed me to pass without much difficulty, and I proceeded, with equal facility, through a chain of six outposts. At length I reached a Franciscan convent, where I was stopped by the officer on guard, who subjected me to a very careful examination, and having satisfied himself that everything was correct, allowed me to continue my journey. At last I arrived at Schlick's headquarters at Gödöllő, where it was necessary to have my pass *viséed*. Here I had to undergo a still more severe scrutiny. To all their inquiries I made answer that they knew perfectly well there were no Hungarians at either Guyöngyös or Hatvan, and that we did not know anything more. They were satisfied, and I proceeded direct for Pesth. The remainder of the journey furnished ample proofs that an army had recently passed that way in confusion and haste. Multitudes of dead horses lay in the fields by the roadside, in the midst of broken waggons and gun-carriages, fragments of arms, fluttering rags, and a multitude of similar objects. They were the traces which the Austrian army had left behind, on its retreat after the battle of Kapolna.

I reached Pesth in the evening. The city was

full of soldiers who had been quartered upon the inhabitants : they bore the infliction patiently, whilst the soldiers moved about the streets gloomily, and in silence. But a short time previously I had entered Pesth proudly and joyfully, on my way to visit Kossuth ; now I stole into it in humiliation and fear. The stones of its streets were yet wet with the blood of many high-minded and devoted patriots who had fallen victims to the insatiable ire of Austrian despotism, whilst the noble Bathanyi still sighed in that miserable dungeon, from which he was released only to meet a horrible and shameful death, and to furnish to the execrable Haynau the opportunity of giving its deepest stain to his spotted name.

## CHAPTER XV.

State of Pesth during the Austrian occupation—Perilous lodgings—Disappointment of Jellachich in love—His revenge—Conduct of Windischgrätz in Pesth—Dangerous recognition—Austrian opinion of Vetter—I am conducted over the fortress of Buda—Austrian preparations for the defence of Buda and Pesth—I suggest a plan of military operations—Departure for Vienna—Company on board a steamer—Presburg—Vienna—Official and authoritative sanction of falsehood by the Camarilla—Dr. and Madame Poltenberg—Opinions of the Liberals of Vienna—Bombastic bulletins of the Austrians, and their contradiction.

ALL the hotels were crowded with Imperialist officers; I could not hope to escape their society wherever I stopped, and therefore chose, notwithstanding the risk and inconvenience, to put up at one of the best, whose landlord I knew to be a faithful Hungarian, and who had four sons in our army.

He recognised me instantly, and had some difficulty to conceal his pleasure at seeing me again. He showed me to a room between two others, occupied by staff-officers, so that I was lodged in the very

centre of my enemies, who, if they had had the slightest knowledge of my real character, would have deemed it a meritorious act to deliver me up to instant death. Still I was so confident in the perfection of my disguise, that I had no apprehension of discovery. I lost no time in visiting my friends and acquaintances. They were sad, but not discouraged. They looked forward with unshaken faith to the ultimate success of our struggle. They told me many things comic as well as painful ; amongst others, an anecdote of Jellachich was related with great zest. When he entered Pesth, he heard that the young Countess Karolyi possessed a palace there, in which she was then residing, the fame of her beauty and amiability had been long known to him ; and he thought this a favourable opportunity of recommending himself to her notice. He therefore quartered himself at her residence, and strove with all his power to make himself agreeable to her, but without success.

He had the most profound faith in his personal charms, and believed that such an Adonis as he must prove irresistible. He could not understand, therefore, why the young Countess did not surrender at discretion ; but he was utterly confounded when, wishing to have an interview with her one morning, he received a message that the Countess was not at home *to him*. He went at once to the Tiger Hotel, bursting with mortification ; and

to revenge himself, sent for his "bill," that he might pay the beautiful Karolyi for his board and lodging. She saw his meaning, and instead of taking offence, sent him actually an account, in which everything he had had at her palace was charged for at a monstrous price. So far the exchange was, perhaps, only fair; but the Croat could not digest the indignity put upon his self-esteem, and all his love for Karolyi turned into a desire for vengeance, which he gratified by filling her palace with common soldiers. Thus ended the renowned Ban's first love adventure in Pesth, to the inextinguishable mirth of the worthy citizens.

But though such tales as this were freely circulated, and provoked the smiles of the inhabitants, they had much greater reason for tears at the entrance of the Austrians into their city. Windischgrätz's proceedings, after he had taken possession of the town, I have already mentioned; they were now spoken of in my hearing with horror and grief. When he entered the place, he imagined he had conquered the whole country. The "Court Journal" of Vienna, indeed, announced in so many words, that Hungary had surrendered without striking a blow; and yet this apocryphal return to their still more apocryphal allegiance was rewarded by hanging, shooting, flogging, and long periods of imprisonment; so that, at the present day, there is in Hungary scarcely one family from out of which

some member or relative has not been dragged away, and given up to the hangman, in order to strengthen the tie that binds the nation to the house of Hapsburg. The Magyar feelings of the cities of Buda and Pesth were well known to Windischgrätz, who did everything in his power to thwart and mortify the people. He forbade them to approach that side of Pesth towards which the Hungarian army must first appear, should it march upon the city; but such was the popular anxiety for its arrival, that thousands stole out daily to the Blocksberg, from whence they could see for a long distance, in order to watch for its coming.

I became infected myself with the common desire, and went one day on foot to the Blocksberg, where I found a strong detachment of Austrian soldiers just posted, to put a stop to these visits. I took the road towards Buda, and, as I approached the fortress, met, to my great terror, a Colonel of the Ceccopieri regiment, to whom I had been formerly well known in Presburg. He recognised me at once, and claimed my acquaintance. I had laid aside my red hair, and it was useless to deny myself; so I determined to brave it out with him, if necessary. He knew that I was favourably disposed towards the Hungarian cause, but I could not tell to what extent he was aware of my participation in the struggle. It required all my self-command not to betray myself. He addressed me in a very friendly

manner, and asked me what I was doing in Pesth? I did not find it difficult to satisfy him on that point, and gathered confidence as I found, in the progress of our conversation, that he knew nothing of my active complicity in the Hungarian proceedings. "Have you read the papers recently?" said he. I answered in the negative. "You are not aware, then," continued he, "that Dembinski has been superseded in the chief command of the Hungarian army by General Vetter? Vetter is just the man we would select to be the leader of the rebels. Depend upon it, we shall very soon settle matters with him." I pretended ignorance, but I thought "You may yet find yourself mistaken."

He then asked me where I was going? I told him I was about to pay a visit to a friend at Buda. He immediately, with intolerable politeness, offered to accompany me. I could not refuse, at the risk of detection; but, without any special malice towards the Colonel, I wished him, in my heart, on the highest peak of the Carpathians. A show of impatience would, however, only precipitate the very event which I dreaded. I was obliged to put the best face I could upon the matter, and accepted the support of his arm. We proceeded along by the wall of the fortress, with the cannon bristling from the embrasures over our heads. I pointed to them, and asked, naively, what they were. He said they were very large guns, which had been



placed there in order to defend the town, in case the Hungarians should attack it. "But," said he, "you had better take a walk with me on the walls, where I shall be able to explain these things more clearly."

Here at least was an opportunity of learning something useful to my country, which compensated for the danger incurred. I accepted his offer willingly. He took me round the whole fortress, and explained everything to me minutely. I reckoned every gun in the place, and noted its size and position. At last, when I had learned everything connected with the fortress, I told my friend that the hour at which I was expected had arrived. He accompanied me to the house of an acquaintance, and begged permission to wait upon me at my own residence. I was obliged to give him an address, and at last we separated, with mutual expressions of pleasure at our meeting, though I felt much more at our parting. I hastened back to Pesth, having warned my friends at Buda of the danger I was in, and told them what they were to say to the Colonel, should he make any inquiries about me. As soon as I reached my lodgings, I assumed my disguise once more, and met this very Colonel face to face in the principal street, but he passed by without recognising me.

The young man whom I had met at Hatvan, and who had undertaken to carry my despatches

to the Hungarian Government, waited upon me punctually, according to his promise. I prepared a full and minute statement of the condition and defences of both Buda and Pesth. I took special care to describe accurately the preparations for resisting an attack upon the latter, such as the barricades, which had been raised in the streets, and the stockades in the squares and gardens, the fortifications of all the public buildings, and the strong garrisons placed in them. I gave abundant proof also of the intentions of the Imperialists to reduce Pesth to ashes by the cannon of Buda, rather than allow it to fall into our hands. Of this they made no secret; it was the common boast and threat of the Austrian officers. I ventured to suggest a plan of operations, founded upon the extensive knowledge I had acquired during this visit. It was as follows:

That the intended attack upon Pesth should be postponed, as its certain result would be the destruction of the city, whilst its utility to our cause was problematical. That one division of the army should hold the Austrians in check at Gödöllő, whilst the remainder marched by Waitzen upon Komorn, to relieve that fortress, which was closely besieged, and to strengthen it with men, provisions, and military stores. That, after this service was accomplished, the corps engaged in it should march direct upon Vienna; this would create a powerful

diversion in our favour, and relieve the Hungarian territory at least partially from the fearful burden of the war.

I had the satisfaction of knowing afterwards, that this plan was approved of, and the original design of attacking Pesth by storm abandoned. I did not fail to let Kossuth know the opinion which the Austrians entertained of General Vetter, though I thought it as well to conceal it from Görgey, whom it would only render still more arrogant and insubordinate. My young friend from Hatvan was afraid to take charge of the despatches in Pesth, as he would have, in that case, to pass Jellachich's outposts with the papers on his person, which would have been almost certain death. I told him, therefore, to go forward without them, and wait for me at a village beyond the outposts. I then hired a carriage, and, with a lady of my acquaintance, who was well known as an inhabitant of Pesth, drove out of the town, as if for an airing. We found our courier at his post, I gave him my despatches, a number of Austrian journals, bulletins, proclamations; and, in short, everything I could think of which would be interesting and useful to Kossuth. My courier was obliged to make a wide *détour* in order to avoid the Austrian army; but he succeeded in fulfilling his mission faithfully and safely.

My duty in Pesth was now accomplished, and I

must think of my journey to Vienna. I procured a carriage, had my passport *viséed*, and left for the Austrian capital. I was soon stopped on my route, however, and my passport again *viséed*, after which I met with no farther hindrance. It was necessary to make a wide circuit, in order to avoid the fortress of Komorn, as the garrison had put a complete stop to all traffic on the river in its neighbourhood. At a little distance from Komorn, the communication with Vienna by steamer was still continued.

I got on board the steamer, and found it filled with officers of every description of troops, and multitudes of men. They were recruits proceeding to Vienna, to make up the immense deficiency caused by the losses which the Austrians had sustained at the battle of Kopolna. The conversation of these boobies was excessively foolish. They called the citizens of Pesth, "Kossuth's dogs," and made themselves ridiculous with their boastings. Notwithstanding the contemptible character of the men, I felt my blood boil at hearing our most honourable men spoken of in the basest terms, and was obliged to withdraw from the company altogether, lest my indignation should betray me.

Whilst walking alone on a different part of the vessel, the Major who commanded the party approached me, and asked in a very polite manner if I was going to Vienna. I told him I was a milliner, and was going thither to purchase fashions for the

approaching season. He asked me why I had not gone down to dinner with the other passengers? I told him plainly, that the conduct and language of his subalterns was displeasing to me; that I was by birth a Hungarian, and had many dear friends in Pesth whom I could not bear to hear spoken of in the shameful terms used by his officers. The Major greatly regretted their rudeness, and tried with all his might to soothe my wounded feelings.

I dined alone afterwards in the ladies' cabin, and when I returned upon deck, found all the officers there. It is probable the Major had spoken to them, for I will say, to their credit, that they did not afterwards make use of any language to which I could object. Amongst the officers I recognised one to whom I was perfectly known. It was Count Wallis. He had gone over from the Hungarian to the Austrian service in the beginning of the war. I thought discovery was inevitable: but, thanks to my red hair, he had no suspicion who I was.

We passed rapidly by the walls of Presburg, a city calculated to awaken so many recollections in my mind; it was intimately associated with the commencement of my warlike adventures, if I may so name them. Here terminated my first perilous journey from Vienna; and in the cathedral, whose dome was dimly visible, I had offered my solemn thanksgivings to God for His gracious protection in the midst of danger and distress.

Here I first met Görgey and Csányi, and many gallant champions of my fatherland; some of whom had already died the death of fame, and whose names were embalmed by the tears of a grateful and admiring country. Here, also, I had consecrated all my future life to the sacred cause of liberty. The towers and palaces of the old city receded from my view, as the steamer glided rapidly away on the broad bosom of the Danube. I thought a silent farewell, and the hope arose within my soul, that the capital of my native land would be one day liberated from the hated yoke of Austria, and flourish again in more than its ancient glory. That hope, even now, is not extinguished—it is only deferred.

The ancient St. Stephen's soon raised its grey turrets to our sight, like some hoary giant who had outlived his race. What various purposes have these towers subserved to the inhabitants of Vienna. How often have they witnessed the tide of war roll to the very walls of the city, and again recede. How often have the voices of victory spoken afar from these lofty pinnacles, and the eye of despair looked for help. Here sat the noble Stahremberg, day and night, whilst the Turks invested the city, and pressed it continually closer, indefatigably watching their movements, and taking skilful advantage of their mistakes. Here, the patriots of the preceding October sent their watch-

men, to catch the first glimpse of the expected aid from Hungary, which, alas! never came; and tyranny was triumphant.

I was aroused from such thoughts as these, by the noise and bustle which announced our arrival at Vienna. After complying with the necessary forms required by the state of siege, I entered a *fiacre*, and drove to the house of a friend, by whom I was received with great joy. I was soon surrounded by a number of acquaintances, eager to hear some authentic intelligence of the proceedings in Hungary; for the public journals in Vienna had grown utterly incredible to the people. They dared not publish anything unless the Camarilla approved of it, and the consequence was, that nobody believed a word they contained. Sometimes a piece of authentic intelligence would reach the city, in spite of the parental care of the Camarilla to feed it with nothing but lies. Such events as the Hungarian victory at Kapolna, for example, could not be concealed for a long time. Immediately after it took place, the Vienna papers were filled with bombastic accounts, which represented it as an Austrian victory; the generals and officers were thanked in the most inflated terms, and rewarded for the victory which they did not gain.

A few days afterwards, however, the truth began to transpire. Wounded officers and soldiers straggled into the city, who gave the authentic

narrative of the matter. The population received the intelligence with ecstasies of joy, and could scarcely be restrained from making some public demonstration of their triumph. This would have proved inevitably fatal to hundreds of them; for the streets were commanded by cannon, and the Camarilla, exasperated at seeing its systematic lying at the same time detected and laughed at, would no doubt have taken signal vengeance on the people. Though the real expression of popular feeling was thus restrained, I much question if the feeling itself did not, on that very account, burn more intensely, and spread more extensively.

On the day after my arrival, I commenced the discharge of my several missions; and waited first upon Dr. Poltenberg, the father of the Colonel. He was a venerable old man, eighty years of age. His head was thinly covered with hair, as white as snow. I handed him a letter from his son. It was a touching scene. He had not beheld his son, who was his only child, nor heard any intelligence of him for many months, at the most eventful period of the war when almost every day brought an account of some battle. He had long, therefore, believed him dead. And now, when he received tidings that he was living, and in honour, the large tears rolled down the old man's cheeks, whilst his hands were clasped, and his eyes directed to heaven, in speechless joy and gratitude.



The joy of Colonel Poltenberg's youthful wife, at receiving a letter from him, was nearly as affecting as that of his father, though differently expressed. I could not refrain from weeping with them myself. How rejoiced was this amiable and respectable family, when I told them that their relative, who had left Vienna as a simple Captain of cavalry, was already a Colonel, and would soon be a General. Alas! what unspeakable woe was reserved for these gentle hearts! In what nameless misery were they soon to be plunged, by the hangman of Austria, when the brave and the beloved, the son and husband, on whom so many brilliant hopes had been raised, was condemned to a felon's death and a dishonoured grave at Arad!

I lived in Vienna for two months—after Görgey's treason, and after the murder of Colonel Poltenberg; but I never could summon sufficient resolution to visit a family, which had been so fearfully stricken. I dreaded the effect of their sorrow upon my own reason; and yet this was but one, out of innumerable instances, in which the diabolical vengeance of Austria had carried despair, shame, and death, in its most frightful form, into the bosoms of the best families in the land. The worst feature in these military murders, was their gratuitous character. Had they taken place during the struggle, they would have been damnable in the sight of God and man for their injustice, still they might have

been attributed to a barbarous policy of terrorism ; but taking place, as they did, after all opposition had ceased, they can be attributed only to an innate love of carnage : like the instinct which leads the gorged tiger to wet its whiskers, and dabble in the blood of its prey.

I promised Dr. and Madame Poltenberg to take back letters from them to the Colonel, and begged that they might be all prepared in eight days' time, as I expected to be then again in Vienna, on my return from Germany. I delivered the remainder of my letters, and returned to my lodgings, where I found a few tried friends, who had taken part in the October rising, already assembled. They were unanimously of opinion, that the only hope for the Liberal cause was in the immediate march of the Hungarian army upon Vienna, and begged of me to impress it upon Kossuth. I promised to do so, for it had always been my own opinion, and I longed to see my suffering country relieved from the intolerable pressure of the war.

The reader will remember that I had suggested this very movement to Kossuth and Görgey. I cannot blame them if they were not prepared to accept unaltered a plan proposed by a woman ; I can only regret that it did not coincide altogether with their own views, or that they should have found it necessary to alter their opinions afterwards. However this may be, the plan was par-

tially executed. The attack upon Pesth was deferred, it is true, and the garrison of Komorn relieved; but instead of marching upon Vienna immediately after the latter operation, as I had advised, the army separated into two divisions, one of which took up its quarters at Raab, and remained there for two months, until it was aroused from its inactivity by the approach of Schlick's division. The other marched back upon Pesth and Buda, from which it succeeded once more in expelling the Austrians. But these successes, though they served to animate the troops, did little for our cause compared with what would have been effected by a bold and rapid march upon the Austrian capital. It is now useless to indulge in regrets like these: the opportunity is irrecoverably lost, though the record of it may be advantageous on some other occasion.

I visited the — Legation, and delivered my despatches. The Ambassador, to whom I was known, received me with much politeness, and invited me to dinner on the following day. It took me a long time to put him in possession of the true state of matters in Hungary, so thoroughly had the journals of Vienna, by order of the Camarilla, distorted every fact, and misrepresented every event of the war. The minute care with which the Austrian Government excluded every word of genuine intelligence, every ray of truth, from the popular mind, proves in a very striking manner its consciousness

of its own infamy, and its determination not to found its authority upon the enlightened opinion of a free people, but to rule them by a mingled system of delusion, terror, and mere brute force. The good sense of the people, however, enabled them to see through the misrepresentation of their unprincipled rulers. Scarcely did one of their lying bulletins appear, when it was followed by some event which directly contradicted it. Thus it was announced that the Hungarians had evacuated Pesth through cowardice, and that Buda was in a position to defy all their power ; but a few days afterwards, Buda was taken by storm, and the Hungarians marched into Pesth in triumph. When the Austrians were defeated, and even routed disgracefully, it was represented as a masterly stratagetical movement, until contradicted by myriads of poor fellows entering the capital, wounded and exhausted, with fearful tales of Hungarian daring and success.

In their lists of casualties the numbers of the killed were always amazingly small, yet people could not reconcile this with the immense bodies of recruits which were continually sent forward to the army ; finally, all their boastings ended in a piercing cry to the Russians—for what purpose ? to share in the glory of their numerous victories ?—no ; but to save them from annihilation by that very foe whom, according to their own showing, they had already annihilated many times over.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Preparations for my German mission—Arrival at Prague—Indications of popular feeling in that city—Arrival at Dresden—Appearance of the city—Arrival at Leipsig—Visit to Madame Blum—Transactions at Breslau—Intelligence of the Hungarian victory at Waitzen—Return to Vienna—Windischgrätz recalled—Banquet of the Viennese Liberals—Preparations for returning to Hungary—Voyage in company with Welden, the Austrian Field-Marshal—A black-yellow—Arrival at Pesth.

HAVING accomplished all that was necessary in Vienna, I commenced my preparations for continuing my journey. I obtained an excellent passport for Saxony, by way of Prague, and visited my friends in order to announce my probable return in eight or nine days, and to request that whatever papers they desired to charge me with might be ready by that time.

The next day, which was to be the last of my stay in Vienna, I dined at the —— Embassy, and in the evening enjoyed the company of my Viennese friends, who had come together for that purpose. In the morning I proceeded by railway to Prague, furnished with letters of introduction to friends in

that city. On my arrival I witnessed a very singular scene, but one which I confess gave me much pleasure. The Hungarian regiment, Michalowitsch, was about to proceed by the train to Vienna. They had become great favourites with the inhabitants of Prague, who accompanied them in thousands to the terminus. They carried before them the effigies of Kossuth, Jellachich and Windischgrätz; the two last were insulted and broken to pieces, whilst that of Kossuth was carried back to the city in triumph. It is hardly necessary to say that the Hungarians were treated with the utmost hospitality by the citizens of Prague. I saw them as the soldiers sat in the open waggons, press upon them, and even throw in amongst them, all kinds of delicacies and provisions for their journey.

I was greatly rejoiced to see the good city of Prague in some measure cured of that exclusive panslavism which had moved it so powerfully at first. My first object was to find out those members of the Diet to whom Kossuth had desired me to apply, in order to ascertain the real disposition of the Bohemians towards the Hungarians. I was successful, and on stating Kossuth's wish, was informed that the Bohemians had relinquished the absurd notion of isolating themselves from all the other members of the empire. That they had become convinced that they could do nothing by separating themselves; and that the freedom of all the Austrian provinces

must stand or fall with that of Hungary. I had witnessed at the terminus one proof of the state of feeling in Bohemia; another, and still more decisive one, consisted in the common and public conversation of the people, which displayed a degree of zeal almost fanatic for the success of the Hungarian struggle. Satisfied with what I had seen and heard in the ancient Tcheckish capital, I took the diligence to Dresden.

The season was now opening, and the trees were already clothed with the tender green which heralded the spring. It was the morning of the year, full of bright hopes and flattering prospects. How many changes, I thought, will take place in human society as these leaves and flowers, now budding into life, shall steadily advance to maturity under the genial influence of nature. Alas! I did not think that with them the hopes of a great and proud people should wither and fall in the coming autumn, and that the heads of my true and brave countrymen should be heaped together, like ripe fruit, to gratify the will of the Imperial despot of Austria. It is in mercy that the Ruler of the Universe has concealed the future from weak mortals. The knowledge of the feeble results which issue from their best efforts, would paralyze all their energies, and prevent them from attempting even the little which they may accomplish.

We reached Dresden in the afternoon. The city

presented all the appearance of having been recently the scene of a deadly struggle. The streets were crowded with soldiers, and wherever the eye turned, it encountered proofs of the obstinacy and desperation of the conflict—houses in ashes, or perforated with cannon-shot, in every direction; whilst the countenances of the citizens were gloomy and determined, as if they brooded over their wrongs, and waited only for a suitable opportunity to rise again for their redress. They had, like the citizens of Vienna, contended against tyranny in vain. The despots of Europe were alarmed at the general movement of the people, and flew to one another's aid. He of Prussia sent aid to his brother of Saxony in the hour of distress, when law and justice seemed likely to triumph, as the Russian Autocrat did to Austria. They have succeeded for a moment in damping the superficial flame; but can they extinguish the fire of liberty that burns below? The time will come when the very obstructions which they have placed upon it shall but swell the lava torrent which will consume them for ever.

We had an agent in Dresden who was in correspondence with some manufacturers of arms in Belgium, and to whom I was charged with special instructions. I found him out, and delivered my papers; and feeling unhappy at Dresden, in the midst of so many tokens of successful tyranny, I hastened to Liepsig. Here also we had a trusty



agent, to whom I delivered letters from Kossuth. He told me that there were already sixty thousand florins' worth of arms ready to be delivered on the frontiers. I immediately paid him that sum, and ten thousand more on account, for which I took his receipt. This finished my business at Leipsig. Before leaving the city, however, I felt impelled by powerful sympathy to pay Madame Blum a visit of condolence. She wept bitterly as I mentioned the name of her murdered husband; she was sorely distressed, and her mind was so filled with her own unutterable sorrow, that she could think of nothing else. It was vain to attempt to console the hapless widow; I could only mingle my tears with hers.

As I had to transact some affairs in Breslau, connected also with the purchase of arms, I requested our Leipsig agent to accompany me thither; he was an able and honest man, and I wished for his assistance in these commercial transactions. We travelled by the railway which passes through Dresden, Görlitz, and Liegnitz, affording but a momentary glance of these towns. We went immediately to the house of our agent at Breslau, who, with the whole population, was in a state of joyful excitement. The last journals had published the news of the great battle of Waitzen, in which the Hungarians had totally defeated the Austrians, whose leader, General Götz, fell on the field. There

was also an account of two other engagements, in which the Hungarians were completely victorious. I need hardly tell the reader that this intelligence filled me with ecstasy.

I now hastened my preparations for returning as soon as possible, for I knew that it was the constant practice of the Austrians, whenever they were defeated by us, immediately to prohibit all communications between the two countries, and forbid to every one the passage of the Danube, lest the truth should be ascertained. I found that our agent at Breslau had arranged for fifty thousand florins' worth of arms, which were already on the frontiers, and would be delivered as soon as paid for. I paid this sum, took a receipt for it, and, having seen that everything was correct, I proceeded to Odenberg, where the railway commences, and soon reached Vienna. In the Imperial capital I saw vast bodies of recruits marching off in the direction of Hungary, and heard, for the first time, that the great crowd-compeller and pacificator of cities—Windischgrätz—had been found not exactly in his proper sphere, in the open field, with a disciplined army opposed to him; that he had been invited to the Court at Olmütz for the double purpose of reposing upon his laurels, and allowing Field-Marshal Welden to take his place.

One great lie had just been published by the Government, without the usual caution. It was

stated that the garrison of Komorn was just about to surrender, through starvation ; whilst every one knew that the fortress was provisioned for six years, and laughed at the weak devices of the Camarilla to deceive the people.

In the evening I was invited to a supper, at which the friends of liberty had determined to rejoice over the good news from Hungary. I need not describe the hilarity which prevailed, nor the toasts which were drunk—they were of the usual character on such occasions. One incident of the evening took me rather by surprise. A casket was placed before me, which I was requested “to open and to bestow its contents upon those for whom they were destined.” I opened it, and found three laurel crowns: one bore the name of Kossuth, another that of Görgey, and the third was inscribed, “To the worthiest Hungarian General.” I said immediately let it be given to Aulich, and my election met with universal approbation. A splendid tri-colour flag was also exhibited, which had been prepared to greet the entrance of the Hungarian army. It is impossible for me to describe their passionate anxiety for this event, or to repeat their urgent prayers that I would impress Kossuth with its necessity. The people of Vienna looked for emancipation from their intolerable oppression to him, and to his army. I was obliged to pledge

myself solemnly to represent the whole case to him with all my power.

A body of six working-men was introduced in the course of the evening. They were a deputation from the whole body of workmen in Vienna. They begged me to say to Kossuth, that they represented thirty thousand men who were ready to rise the moment he made his appearance; and although they were without arms, yet that their strength and courage should be at his command. I was, beyond measure, surprised at the openness and freedom with which the Viennese spoke of Kossuth's arrival, and that of the Hungarian army. It was, in fact, regarded as a settled thing, and every one felt at liberty to speak of it.

On the next day, my part, as Ambassador from Kossuth, being played out, I assumed my former character of a milliner from Hatvan, preparatory to my return to Hungary. I bought an immense quantity of millinery, consisting of the newest fashions, and amounting to the value of nearly twelve hundred florins, an expense which placed me entirely above all suspicion of having only assumed the character, but which I should have hesitated to pay out of the public funds, were I not assured that I should be able to sell them all again at Pesth, between which place and Vienna the communication was exceedingly difficult. Thus then, with an im-

mense quantity of straw-hats, artificial flowers, collars, caps, and handkerchiefs, and, in the midst of them, the three laurel crowns of which I have spoken, I was ready for my departure from Vienna.

I learned that a steamer was to leave in the afternoon, with Field-Marshal Welden on his way to take the command of the army. I determined immediately to travel with him, hoping to learn something during the voyage which might be advantageous to our cause. There were only about ten civilians on board, but the ship swarmed with military. There were not less than seven hundred officers, high and low, and about three hundred Seressaners, whose wild and rude nature could scarcely be restrained by the presence even of their Commander-in-Chief. They were destined to aid in the threatened storm of Komorn, and the vessel was filled with scaling-ladders for the same object. From the rodomontade of the officers, one might suppose that the garrison would surrender out of pure fear, as soon as they appeared before it. I could not help laughing heartily at Welden himself, who I thought had a little sense, when he strutted into the middle of a group of officers, and turning himself round, like a peacock fanning his tail, said: "These Hungarians are ragamuffins, gentlemen; they have been treated with too much forbearance; but we shall soon see whether we cannot settle

matters with them when we go about it in earnest."

We landed at Presburg on the evening of April 16th. Welden and the officers disembarked here, and I determined also to pass the night in Presburg, and proceed by another vessel in the morning. The second steamer was also filled with soldiers, like that of the preceding day, but they had been in Hungary some time, and were by no means loud or boastful. At dinner, in the saloon, a gentleman from Vienna congratulated the officers on the excellent disposition of the Viennese towards the Emperor. The officers shook their heads, and were silent; but when I said that I had recently been a good deal about in Vienna, and the impression upon my mind was, that the people were favourable to the Hungarians, the officers all concurred, and said that, however it might be disguised, that was the literal fact. We were obliged to disembark about two hours from Komorn, I immediately ordered a post-carriage for Pesth. The prating little black-yellow from Vienna, who was so devoted to the Emperor, heard me give the order, and offered to join me, but I replied to his request by an absolute "No," which rather astonished his loyalty.

I passed by the investing army near Acz. Immense preparations were going on for the grand attack: cannon coming in from all quarters for the

breaching and covering batteries, and thousands of ladders, which the country people were obliged to furnish, for the escalade; and which afterwards gave rise to innumerable jests amongst the peasantry. I heard the first cannon-shot at five o'clock in the evening. The bombardment continued during the whole night. I could still distinctly hear it even at Neudorf, which is thirty-six English miles distant.

At Almatz, a number of troops had been sent across the river, to strengthen the Austrian position on that side of the Danube, which was greatly shaken by our attacks. The poor fellows looked miserable, and out of heart; and well they might, for they must make up their minds either to conquer, or to be drowned in the Danube, and they knew it.

At Neudorf I went about openly, and mingled with the Austrian officers, without any fear of detection,—so certain was I of my disguise. I even dined at the *table-d'hôte*, where I met my chattering companion of the day before. I conceived a great dislike for this man: he monopolized the whole conversation, and pretended to know everything about every subject. "Let me see," said he, "taking out his watch, "the bombardment commenced at three o'clock: how long, I wonder, will it take to reduce that rebels' nest to ashes?" "For a gentleman so well informed,"

I replied, "you have fallen into a great error: the bombardment did not commence till five; and you, who pretend to know so much, ought to be aware that the Austrians never begin a bombardment before night-fall." He denied it; but all the officers agreed with me, and the crest-fallen gossip was silenced. He cast a poisonous glance at me, which I returned with a smile. I have no doubt that he was one of those agents whom the Austrian Government sent out in large numbers amongst their own troops to encourage them, and strengthen their faith in the official lies contained in the journals.

After a little while he recovered his voice again, and said: "How much I should like to send a few bomb-shells, from the fortress of Buda, amongst the rebellious inhabitants of Pesth." I replied: "My good Sir, it is not at all likely that the Austrians, should they think it necessary to bombard Pesth, will wait for you; though I have no doubt that your skill in gunnery is quite as accurate as your knowledge of facts." The officers seemed attracted by our dialogue, and left off talking to attend to us. My amateur bombarder saw it, and became alarmed at a duel of the kind; whilst my last observation stung him to the quick. Between his rage against me, and his fear of displaying his ignorance, he could not say a word. I determined to silence him thoroughly, and said: "Pray have the goodness to



tell us where you were born, and where you live." "I was born at Vienna," said he, "but I live at Pesth." "How is that," I said, "you leave your native city, which you tell us is devoted to the Emperor, and you come and live at Pesth, which you say is a rebel city? And yet you profess to be a loyal subject! I cannot understand you; it appears to me, that if you were a true servant of the Emperor, you would not remain for a moment in a place where you must do homage to Kossuth." At this, all the officers cried "Bravo!" and laughed heartily; whilst the discomfited gossip snatched up his hat, and rushed out of the saloon.

After dinner, having obtained fresh horses, I proceeded to Pesth, where I arrived at eleven o'clock at night. The same stillness and darkness which I had before observed, reigned over the doomed city. My trusty friends at the hotel were rejoiced to see me, and I remained with them till three o'clock in the morning, narrating all that had befallen me since I left. They told me of the wretched plight in which the Austrians had returned, after the battles of Waitzen, Gödöllö, and Isaszeg. That the people had begun again to go out to the Blocksberg in thousands, armed with telescopes, opera-glasses, and all other kinds of helps for the sight, in order to see if the Hungarians were coming. That the Austrians were highly enraged at the favour which this proved, on the part

of the people, for the Hungarian cause, and had wreaked their vengeance upon the gardens and vineyards of the citizens, which they had entirely destroyed, and upon their houses, from which they had torn away the windows and doors, and carried off the furniture for fuel in their camp ; and that the robber Croats had exceeded even themselves in this cowardly and thievish warfare.

## CHAPTER XVII.

I am compelled to remain in Pesth—The Austrians prepare to defend Buda—Burning of the floating-bridge between Buda and Pesth—Arrival of Hungarian troops in Pesth—Joy of the inhabitants—Visit to Aulich's head-quarters—Declaration of independence—Its effects on the army—Entrance of Aulich's corps into Pesth—Proclamation to restrain the popular exultation—Visit to Colonel Kmeti's head-quarters—Kmeti's fearful surprise of the Austrians—Honours paid to the body of General Götz—Journey to Komorn—Meeting with my maid—Visit to General Damjanich—General Poltenberg—Panslavism—Its decline—Increasing influence of Hungary—Guyon's adventures and daring before Komorn—Komorn during the siege—Görgey crosses the Danube, and attacks the Austrians.

My great object now was to get to the Hungarian army, and to make Görgey acquainted, as soon as possible, with the disposition of the people of Vienna, and the burning impatience with which they expected him there. I applied at the *bureau* of the police to get my passport *viséed* for Hatvan, but was informed that it could not be done, and that under no circumstances, whatever, would any one be allowed to leave the city. This was a dreadful

disappointment to me ; but it could not be remedied. I was compelled to summon all the patience I could command, and wait for my opportunity. I soon exchanged my stock of millinery to a Jewess for the full sum I had paid for it ; and having purchased a good telescope, I endeavoured to make the most of my time by observing the movements in the Austrian camp ; but this state of things was becoming every day less tolerable, I could not bear the idea of being so near the termination of my journey without being permitted to reach it.

At length I learned that preparations were making for the defence of Buda against the Hungarians. The first measure of the Austrians was to expel from the fortress every one who had not provisions, at least, for one month ; and the next to bring all the cannon and ammunition from the encampment within the walls. This was done by night, which, I had frequent reason to observe, was the favourite time of the Austrians for all their operations.

On the 23rd of April, all communication between Pesth and Buda was prohibited ; and on the following day the floating-bridge, which connected the two cities, was set on fire. I hastened to the banks of the Danube to witness the conflagration—it was a magnificent spectacle. The flames extended across the wide expanse of the river, and rose high in the air, revealing on one side the

grim-looking fortress, with its frowning bastions and embrasures bristling with cannon, all pointed towards Pesth ; and on the other, an immense multitude of persons gazing with terror upon what there was too much reason to apprehend, was only the precursor of that destruction which was about to burst from the yet silent fortress upon their devoted city.

The Austrians had entirely deserted Pesth during the night. Early in the day the first part of our troops arrived, consisting of a detachment of hussars ; they were not more than thirty in number, but they were quite enough to send the inhabitants almost distracted with joy. At every tailor's shop honved uniforms were exhibited. The Hungarian tri-colour waved from all towers, steeples, and windows ; those who could do nothing else to show their satisfaction at seeing the troops of their country once more, wove bouquets and garlands to decorate them. Thousands had been making secret preparations for weeks for the reception of their countrymen, and now that the dread of the Austrians was removed, the change was astonishing. The whole city suddenly assumed a peculiarly Hungarian appearance. The Magyar language was spoken openly, and the subject of the war freely discussed in the public streets. In the course of the day the Hungarian camp, which was about two hours from the city, was visited by myriads on horseback, on foot, and

in vehicles of every description. Young and old, high and low, all floated away, without distinction, on the common tide of joy towards Zinkoda, where Aulich had fixed his head-quarters.

In this vast multitude there was scarcely an individual who was not laden with some present for the army. Wine, fruit, confectionary, tobacco, pipes, cooked meat, and bread. Everything that could gratify the taste, or satisfy the necessities of men who had been long deprived of the comforts and conveniences of life, were here in abundance—in superfluous excess. But who can describe the meeting between the citizens and the soldiers. The hands of the hussars and honveds were kissed as if they had been princes. Their horses were decorated with ribbons, and themselves with rich shawls and handkerchiefs; and such was the multitude of garlands thrown into the camp, that the soldiers were each obliged to wear several of them on their arms, in the fashion of bracelets. The reader will suppose that I lost no time in visiting the camp myself. I drove in a *fiacre* to Aulich's head-quarters, where I was speedily recognised by some officers of Görgey's staff who were present, and who introduced me to Aulich, to whom I was personally unknown.

He was exceedingly polite, and offering me his arm, conducted me into his quarters. The name of a Field-Marshal's head-quarters sounds very high, but the reality does not always correspond

with the grandeur of the title. In this case it was supported by a poor country cabin, into a division of which the old General led me, and begged me to take a seat. I handed him the laurel crown, which he thought was intended as a token of welcome to Pesth; but when he learned that it had been sent to him from Vienna, and the honour in which his pure and heroic fame was held in that city, he was deeply affected. I thought even that I saw a tear roll down the noble old man's cheek. I gave him a brief account of my mission; when he heard that I had been in Presburg, his native city, he asked me a multitude of questions about its condition, and displayed a deep interest in everything connected with the place. He was, therefore, highly gratified by a packet of Presburg journals and papers with which I presented him.

A courier had just arrived from Görgey with the gratifying intelligence that the siege of Komorn had been raised. The same courier carried back intelligence that Aulich was about to take possession of Pesth; and as I wished to witness the scene which I knew would take place upon his entrance into the city, I sent a message to Görgey that he might expect me in his camp by the 26th or 27th.

I returned to Pesth in the afternoon, accompanied by a number of officers, from whom I learned for the first time, that the Hungarian Government had declared the independence of the nation, and

that a new Ministry had been formed at Debreczin. The army was discontented at this step being taken without consulting them, and I confess that I thought it premature myself. The amazing series of victories which our troops had gained within the last few weeks, had no doubt produced in Kossuth's mind the conviction that the time was come for this decisive measure; if he erred, it was with the purest and best intentions; and the strongest proof of this was, that not even one of those who most highly disapproved of the act ever questioned the rectitude of the motive.

On the 25th, Aulich's entire corps marched into the city with the old Marshal himself at its head. I must leave it to my reader to imagine his reception by the inhabitants. It would be useless to attempt its description; for four weary months they had endured, with unshaken firmness, the shameful oppression and insolence of the Austrian army, which had violated every principle of honour and humanity, in its treatment of the unoffending and unwarlike citizens. They had been sustained under these frightful wrongs, by the hope of seeing the Hungarian army come to their relief and rescue; but this hope had been so long deferred, and their sufferings had become so intolerably cruel, that their hearts began to sicken and despair. Imagine, then, their wild joy at seeing all their expectations fulfilled. So excessive was the exultation of the



poor people at their liberation from the savage Croats, that Aulich felt it necessary to issue a proclamation, in which, after thanking the loyal people of Pesth for the public display of their good-will, he begged of them to return to their ordinary occupations, and said that they could give more substantial proofs of their patriotism, by labouring to refurnish the soldiers, who were in want of almost everything after their long campaign.

Overlooking this sea of joy, meanwhile, rose the fortress of Buda—black and threatening, like a grim rock fraught with shipwreck and ruin. The inhabitants of Buda mounted on the heights within the wall, could see from afar the joy of their sister city, and hear the voice of exultation borne faintly on the breeze; but they were not permitted to share in it, and they had the anguish of knowing that the very ground on which they trod was filled and piled up with the elements of death ready to be poured forth upon the rejoicing multitude, whenever the dark spirit that ruled the place should issue the command.

On the same evening Colonel Kmeti arrived from Waitzen, with a pressing request from Görgey, that I would instantly accompany the Colonel on his return. We left immediately by the railway, and in one hour arrived at Waitzen. Kmeti conducted me to the Bishop's residence, where he had

fixed his head-quarters. He placed at my disposal a suite of rooms, which, he said, had been formerly occupied by Windischgrätz. I cannot say that I felt the less comfortable in them on that account. Kmeti showed me the place from which he had driven the Austrians out of the district only a few days before. It was a small island in the centre of the Danube, thickly overgrown with bushes. The Austrians lay at the other side of the river, not far from the banks, which they approached almost every day to reconnoitre. Kmeti had a few pieces of cannon sent to the island in boats during the night; and before the morning broke, had constructed and masked a formidable battery.

The Austrians appeared as usual, early in the day, and commenced manœuvring close to the river, when the battery was suddenly unmasked, and a storm of shot and shells, intermingled with grape and cannister, fell upon them, sweeping whole squadrons to the earth. So frightful and unexpected was this discharge, that they broke from their ranks, and fled singly for their lives; nor were they seen any more in the neighbourhood. We also visited the grave of General Götz, who had fallen close to Waitzen. Görgey had had him buried with all military pomp and honours; he had followed the coffin himself, and with his own hand, committed the body of his gallant enemy to the dust. A beautiful monument was afterwards erected, by his

orders, to mark the spot. Such acts as these speak well for our common nature, and if they do not mitigate, at least cast a decent veil over, the inevitable horrors of war.

The next day, I left for Komorn, with an order from Kmeti, which empowered me to demand horses, carriages, and all other necessities for my journey along the route. It was a day of severe toil; I had to cross the Danube twice in small fishing-boats, for the Austrians had destroyed all the bridges. Fortunately, Kmeti had sent a sergeant with me, who provided everything as conveniently and speedily as possible. I was obliged to stop for the night at a village, but I thought the less of this, as Görgey had thoroughly cleared the country of the Austrians.

At twelve o'clock the next day, I saw again the towers and fortifications of the old, unconquered fortress of Komorn. I felt my heart throb with pleasure at entering once more the great centre of Hungary's life, the pulsations of which were felt in the remotest parts of the land. I rejoiced to see it look as strong and invincible as ever, after the desperate trial it had endured. On reaching my lodgings, I found my maid, whom I had left under Görgey's care, expecting my arrival, with everything prepared for my reception. My poor girl was overjoyed to see me after so long a separation. She told me, as well as she could, between

tears and laughter, what a number of great battles she had been near since I had left her ; and how she had been to church regularly every day, to pray for my safe return.

I sent a message to Görgey, notifying my arrival. One of General Damjanich's aides-de-camp arrived soon after, and said that all the Generals then in Komorn were assembled at his quarters, and earnestly requested my presence. I declined the invitation, as I was too fatigued to bear any part in the conversation which might be expected in such company. The aide-de-camp begged forgiveness, but said he had received positive orders from Görgey not to return without me. I saw that excuses were useless, and therefore surrendered to the necessity.

Having made some hasty preparations, I accompanied the officer to the residence of General Damjanich, where I found, as had been stated, all the Generals, and a multitude of staff-officers assembled. Had I not been used to warlike company, I might well have been dazzled by this splendid military assembly ; yet would no female have found amongst this large concourse of gentlemen, a single individual whose conduct was not characterised by the most refined politeness and chivalrous gallantry. I was welcomed with impressive, but unobtrusive cordiality ; Görgey led me to a seat, where I was soon surrounded with a crowd of attentive listeners,

eager to catch every word of the intelligence which I had brought from Vienna, Prague, and Germany.

Before beginning my narrative, I handed to General Poltenberg the letters from his wife and father. It was the first intelligence he had received from them for many months. He devoured the contents of his letters; but the lifeless words could not satisfy his eager longing to know how they were, and how they felt. The other gentlemen sympathized with him, and left us together. He led me to the recess of a window, and put a multitude of questions to me, such as would naturally arise in an affectionate and faithful heart under such circumstances. I was obliged to describe their appearance, and to repeat the very words they used. He wept when I repeated to him the description which his wife had given me of her feelings whilst looking through a telescope at the battle of Schwechat, in which she knew her husband was engaged, and which was plainly visible from her residence at Kaisers-Ebersdorf, and of her despair when she saw the Hungarians obliged to give ground to the enemy.

Before I had concluded my narrative to Poltenberg, supper was announced, and again I became the centre of attraction to the officers, who were burning with curiosity to hear my intelligence. I impressed upon them, in an especial manner, the tidings from Vienna, and mentioned the three

laurel crowns with which I had been charged, but told Görgey that he must wait for his till to-morrow, when I should have an opportunity of communicating more particulars concerning the Liberals at Vienna.

The sudden conversion of the citizens of Prague from a condition of feeling closely allied to hostility towards the Hungarians, to opinions so highly favourable to our cause, gave rise to much animated conversation. It was the general opinion of all present, that this change in the sentiments of the people of Prague was but the beginning of a general alteration of feeling throughout all the provinces. The Tchecks had endeavoured to realize their dreamy notions of pansclavism, and to erect themselves into a separate constitutional nation, bound to Austria by the Crown only; whilst the design of the Imperial Government was to abolish all national distinctions, and fuse all the provinces and kingdoms which acknowledge the Emperor into one great despotic monarchy. The old Tcheckish capital was to be the centre of the pansclavonic system; but all these dreams were broken by the Austrian cannon in June, and the Tchecks awoke to a full conviction of the fact, that they were too weak and dispersed, and their enemies too powerful, to permit the further indulgence of such hopes. On the other hand, they saw the kingdom of Hungary compact, powerful, and victorious, advancing rapidly on the way to complete national independence, with

one hand scattering her enemies, chasing them like chaff from her path ; and with the other, holding out signals of sympathy, hope, and brotherhood to all the other nationalities of the empire.

Thus the Tcheckish tribes were driven, step by step, to the conviction that their liberties were closely connected with the affairs of Hungary, and that both must perish or triumph together ; but it was equally evident, that unless Hungary could succeed in breaking up the Camarilla, and destroying the military despotism under which the people of Vienna groaned and all parts of the empire suffered, there could be no hope for any portion of its population. Hungary then began to be regarded by all the separate provinces and nationalities as their champion against the irrational and lawless despotism of the Hapsburgs. It was the only country over which Austria claimed dominion which possessed sufficient wealth and power to dispute that claim, and put it to the final arbitration and test of war. The rumour of the approach of a Russian army was spoken of ; some did not credit it, others made light of it, and said it would give the Hungarians a wider field for the display of their valour, and add to their glory.

I told them of my journey to Presburg, in company with Field-Marshal Welden, and of his confident anticipations of victory, at which the officers laughed heartily. I mentioned having seen a number

of flat-bottomed vessels, laden with ammunition, proceeding to the investing army. Guyon smiled and said that these vessels met with a very different destination, for he had blown them all up. I asked him how that had happened, and he replied: "I received secret intelligence that these boats were at anchor at Gönyö, and ordered some pieces of cannon to be trained by night to a position which commanded them. The artillery was hidden by some trees, and the first intimation the Austrians had of our intention was the sight of their own vessels scattered in fragments into the air."

I recounted briefly all the incidents of my last mission, with which the reader is already acquainted, and concluded my recital with a description of Aulich's triumphal entry into Pesth, which called forth loud "Eljens!" from all present. I heard in turn, most exciting and interesting descriptions of the great events which occurred during my absence.

If the occurrences of the few weeks immediately antecedent to the period of which I now speak be properly considered, it must be admitted that the career of the Hungarian army during that time, was one of the most marvellous on record; victory followed victory so rapidly, that men had hardly time to wonder at one brilliant achievement before it was eclipsed by another still more splendid. The great battles of Tokay, Kapolna, Gödöllő, Isaszeg,



Waitzen, and Nagysarlo followed one another in rapid and astounding succession ; whilst the other operations of the war were equally successful ; the siege of Komorn was raised, and Pesth was once more occupied. Well might the Austrian despot tremble at seeing the conquering progress of the champions of freedom.

Guyon amused us very much with a humorous description of his adventures after he had been named Commandant of Komorn, whilst endeavouring to enter the beleaguered fortress. He had assumed a variety of disguises, in each of which he narrowly escaped discovery. At one time his accent betrayed him ; at another, his ignorance of the value of the articles he pretended to sell as a pedler. He represented his ludicrous embarrassment when questioned about the places from which he professed to have come, and the families that resided there, and how he was often obliged to break off such conversations by recollecting that so-and-so was all the while waiting for him ; that he would just speak to him for a moment, and then come back, leaving his basket, or box, or whatever it might be behind him, to prevent suspicion, and forgetting to return for it, until at length it became known in the Austrian army that the new Commandant of Komorn was seeking to enter the place in disguise, when their vigilance became so excessive and jealous, that it would have been folly to have continued his at-

tempts. He terminated his narrative here amidst great laughter at his awkwardness in playing the parts he had assumed.

He might, however, had his modesty permitted him, have made a different close to his recital, and one which would have called forth the vivid admiration of all present. He was defeated in the uncongenial attempt to enter in an assumed character ; he therefore resumed his own natural character of a cool, skilful, and, at the same time, daring soldier, and having obtained a company of a hundred hussars, he advanced cautiously till he was as near to the fortress as he could approach without being discovered by the Austrians ; he then gave the word to charge, and actually cut his way through the whole investing army, and arrived safely in Komorn, amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the garrison, which had witnessed the heroic attempt from the walls.

The joy of the garrison was not at all diminished by the intelligence which reached them in this manner, that the Hungarian army was on its march to their relief, for the place had now been so long and so closely invested, that the garrison was beginning to suffer severely in many respects, and the inhabitants generally were in great distress. A great portion of the town had been destroyed by the Austrian fire ; the houses lay in heaps on every side, and the bombs which fell in the streets from time to

time, caused the poor people inexpressible terror. They had all withdrawn from the town to an open space, at the greatest possible distance from the enemy. It was called the gipsies' meadow, and the character of the dwellings which now covered it, would have led to the belief that it was inhabited by the race from which it had borrowed its name: wooden sheds, earthen huts, and tents made of every variety of material, served the inhabitants in lieu of their former comfortable and luxurious dwellings; and there, in the midst of hardship and privation, they waited with true-hearted loyalty until the army, in which they never for a moment lost their faith, should come to their rescue, and they were not disappointed. Their expectations were now thoroughly justified.

On the following day Görgey proceeded from the fortress to look for the enemy, but they had withdrawn altogether from that part of the country, and had hidden themselves in Presburg. The whole power of Austria stood now on the right bank of the Danube. The bridges had all been burnt, in order to destroy the communication between the two banks of the river; but we had possession of a *tête-du-pont* on the Austrian side, and this gave us an opportunity of again establishing a permanent connection. It was determined to construct a bridge of boats, and it was accomplished in the midst of a perfect tempest of shot from the Austrian field-

batteries, which, strange to say, killed one man only. When the bridge was ready, the Hungarian army marched across, in the midst of a tremendous hail of bullets from the Austrians, and attacked them in their entrenchments. The Austrians defended themselves bravely, the battle raged with indescribable fury, especially in the large and beautiful town of Seen, which was reduced to a heap of ruins by the fire of our artillery. The enemy was quite equal to our troops in daring—both performed prodigies of personal valour; but what could men, who fought for wages, do against men animated by a national spirit of patriotism and glory, fighting for liberty, honour, and even life! The enemy were driven from all their positions, and retired to Raab and Wiedelburg, leaving an incalculable quantity of war *matériel* in our hands. Thus ended Welden's ridiculous boasting about what he should accomplish, by going about it in earnest. Thus was he compelled to run away for his life from that army which he had insolently designated as "a mob of ragamuffins."

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Visit to Görgey—His opinion of the declaration of independence—His hatred of Kossuth—Circumstances under which the declaration of independence was adopted—Görgey as Minister of War—Accident to General Damjanich—Austrian booty returned—Departure from Komorn, and arrival at Pesth—Lukaczy, the Commissary—Economy enforced upon Lukaczy—Journey to Debreczin, and interview with Kossuth—Görgey's desire for delay before Buda—Visit to Count Cassimir Bathyanyi—Proposed mission to the Emperor of Russia—I decline it, and propose Thunis—Mission to the — Legation at Vienna—Postponed till after the fall of Buda—Kossuth's message to Görgey—Change of titles after the declaration of independence—Last personal interview with Kossuth.

On the next morning I visited Görgey, for the purpose of presenting him with his laurel wreath from Vienna. I handed it to him, and said: "General, the faithful people of Vienna have charged me to present to you this wreath as a proof of their exalted estimate of your heroic valour, and of their sympathy with the cause in which you have performed such brilliant deeds. They bid me say, that if you will march to their assistance, they will,

the moment you appear, disarm the garrison of the city, and you shall enter it without opposition ; and that their lives and property shall be at your command, for the sacred cause of freedom."

He took the crown, and laying it upon the table, said : " Baroness, I am deeply grateful for this token of honour. It has a double value for me, as coming from the true-hearted people of Vienna, and being presented by yourself. I will speak openly and without reserve to you. During your absence, things have greatly altered in our camp. The Government at Debreczin has taken some exceedingly important, I may say decisive, steps, without once consulting the army, or even giving them the slightest hint of their intentions. Kossuth was in my camp when the declaration of independence was agreed upon, and about to be published, but he never told me a syllable about it. Yet it was reported in Debreczin, that the army was highly pleased with the measure. For my part, I fight not for a republic, but for Ferdinand, our constitutional King."

In mentioning a republic, Görgey wilfully misrepresented the intentions of the Government, for it was well known that the general wish of all the members was for a constitutional monarchy, and that a Prince of the House of Coburg had been freely spoken of in confidence, as its most suitable head. " I am sorry," Görgey continued, " that I

cannot gratify the wishes of the brave Viennese, by marching to their aid. I have laid down a plan of operations for myself, and I must carry it out. I am determined to march to Buda, and invest that fortress; and if does not surrender, to storm it. The Austrians have boasted that it is impregnable. I will show them their mistake, and strike such a blow as will make them believe our army to be irresistible as it has proved invincible. For this object I have declined the portfolio of the Minister of War. The field is my sphere. You see, therefore, that under these circumstances, it is impossible for me to do what the Viennese desire."

He said all this with much bitterness of manner. I said I was extremely sorry for the disappointment which our friends in Vienna must feel when this intelligence reached them; and not less so that the Government had acted towards Görgey with such needless secrecy. "But I am persuaded," I said, "that it was not Kossuth's wish, for we all know his opinions and candour." I said this to ascertain, if possible, the state of Görgey's feelings towards Kossuth, for I dreaded the tendency of the latter's recent measures to widen the breach between them: not that I entertained any doubt of Kossuth, my faith in the crystal transparency of his character was as firm as a rock. I could make nothing of Görgey. There was an evident desire to conceal his views, and I parted from him fully convinced

that he had told me but a small part of what he thought.

Görgey's dislike of the Government and of Kossuth amounted to a morbid passion; but yet it would not have led him to refuse the high and influential post of War Minister, which was formerly the object of his ambition, if he had not had another motive. He had, unquestionably, some secret and dark plan in view, which he felt he could carry out better with the army free from all control, than in Debreczin, subject to the immediate restraint and surveillance of the Government.

Görgey hated Kossuth with a bitterness the more deadly that it was unreasonable; this was beyond all question—it was a well-known fact. This hatred furnishes the clue to all his proceedings; it first blinded him to the splendid merits of the President, then led him astray after vain fancies of his own, and at length suggested treason against his fatherland, his friends, and his brothers in arms. He would have been a great man had his ambition been moderated by calm judgment. Nature had endowed him with some grand qualities. His personal appearance was noble and heroic, and his will, when once determined, was immovable. He was skilful and vigilant; and his bravery was of the very highest order. In short, both in mind and body, he bore the true stamp of greatness; but his violent and untamed passions spoiled the splendid



model, and prevented him from attaining a high and glorious name, as the hero and saviour of his country.

The declaration of independence, which called forth such bitter complaints from Görgey, could not be so entirely displeasing to him as he pretended. Its principles coincided with those which he had always supported, and, under other circumstances, he would have rejoiced in that national act as much as Kossuth himself. Now it came opportunely to furnish a convenient pretext for the indulgence of his personal rancour against the President. There is no doubt that the deposition of the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine from the throne of Hungary was first proposed by Kossuth ; but he did not propose it before children, but before old statesmen, and illustrious warriors.

The facts of the case are, shortly, as follows. After the Austrian army had been driven back from the Theiss, Kossuth thought the time had come to declare that the unworthy House of Hapsburg had ceased to reign. He entered the House of Commons, and, in a speech of extraordinary power, proposed the declaration of independence for the adoption of the nation. There was no collusion, no canvassing ; and yet, out of the whole of the representatives present, only seven spoke, or voted against it. It is simply absurd to say that the members were taken by surprise : there was

nothing concealed or softened in the declaration. The faithlessness and public villany of the Austrian House were minutely recounted, throughout a long document, and the clauses deliberated upon *seriatim*. And yet, after all, only seven gave it any opposition : surely, if ever there was a national act, this was one. It was further agreed that it should be printed in all the languages of the Austrian empire, and circulated in the several provinces.

I returned home distressed and disheartened ; for it was evidently Görgey's intention to evade every portion of responsibility connected with the declaration of independence, and to throw it all upon the shoulders of the President. He was not unwilling, meanwhile, to take advantage of the act, whenever he thought he could make it subservient to his own vanity and ambition. I had an example of this on the same evening. I met Görgey at dinner, with a large company, when he was publicly addressed as Minister of War. Yes, he could now accept the portfolio, because he thought it would add to his influence, though he had refused it at Debreczin. Görgey was mightily pleased with his new title, and strutted about to enjoy the common admiration ; but I could see that he was not entirely at ease : long fits of silence interrupted his gaiety, and a cloud seemed to pass occasionally over his brow. He spoke to me frequently during

the evening; and, towards its close, asked me if I should like a drive to the other side of the Danube the next morning, as he and Danielis intended to go, and would feel honoured by my company. I accepted the invitation, and the next morning we drove across the new floating-bridge. General Damjanich accompanied us in his own carriage, which unfortunately fell into a deep rut made by a bomb, and the General's leg was broken. This was a sad termination to our trip, for Damjanich was universally honoured and esteemed, as one of our best and bravest Generals. The regret was very great amongst the inhabitants; even the soldiers, who had seen wounds and death in every form, were deeply affected at an injury sustained by their beloved Commander, in such a manner.

The next day, the booty which had been captured from the Austrians at Kaschau, was brought to Komorn, in a multitude of waggons. It was a curious and interesting sight; for the waggons contained articles of every possible kind, many the uses of which we could not divine. Amongst other articles captured on this occasion was a box, containing a quantity of money, papers, and account-books. The soldiers thought this a great prize, and were about to divide the money amongst themselves, when somebody began to examine the books and papers, from which they discovered that the box, with its contents, belonged to a provident

society amongst the Austrian soldiers, and that the money in it was contributed out of their pay in weekly sums, in order to leave something to their widows and orphans, should they fall in battle. No sooner was this known, than the soldiers returned its contents to the box, closed it reverently, and sent it back safely to the Austrian soldiers.

Having obtained the toilette of Schlick, which I intended to present to Kossuth, I took leave of the officers, and left Komorn on the 30th of April. Buda was still in possession of the Austrians; I was, therefore, obliged to go a long way round, in order to reach Pesth. I was necessitated to spend a night on the way, as I could not obtain a change of horses. On the next day I entered Pesth, and found it as I had left it, in a state of exalted jubilation. It seemed as if all the troubles of the war were passed, and the days of peace and joy had come again. But this pleasant illusion was speedily dissipated; for yonder rose the death-fraught fortress—gloomy and threatening: casting an ominous shadow upon the popular joy, and inspiring general mistrust and apprehension.

I had hardly arrived, when I learned that Lukaczy, the Chief of the Commissariat department, had invited the tradesmen to send in tenders for the summer clothing of the army, and named as the maximum price which he was willing to pay, a sum amounting to nearly three times as much as I

had agreed to give the Moravian manufacturers for the very same material. I thought it a great pity that the finances of the Government should be wasted in this manner, and hastened at once to his residence. He was much occupied, and I had to wait a considerable time in the ante-room. At last, I bade the servant say to Lukaczy, that I was the Baroness von Beck, and had something of more importance to occupy me than waiting in his master's ante-chamber.

He returned immediately, and led me into another room, where Lukaczy himself soon made his appearance. He was a very little man, with an intensely yellow face, framed in an immense shining black beard. I told him of the contracts I had made in Moravia, and represented to him the extravagance of the prices he had offered. He seemed very unwilling to delay his purchases, as the soldiers were in great want of new clothing. I replied that the additional sum he was about to pay would form a heavy item in the expenses of the war, which would amount to a grievous burden on the country, even with the strictest economy, and begged him, at least, to defer the transaction until he had received fresh directions. He agreed to this, provided I would undertake to bring him the orders of the Government within eight days, which I promised to do, as it was worth an effort to spare

the country so large a sum in its growing embarrassments.

I left on the 2nd of May, and proceeded by the railway to Szolnok, where I found my own carriage, and travelled night and day, till I reached Debreczin, on the morning of the 4th. I went immediately to Kossuth's residence, and met in his ante-room, as usual, a great number of old acquaintances. There was instantly a general cry: "What news, Baroness? What have you brought us?" "Gentlemen," I said, "I have brought a complete cargo of journals, proclamations, letters, and notices, from Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Leipsig, Breslau, and many other places; but you must have a little patience, for I am greatly fatigued, and cannot now satisfy your curiosity." This announcement was received with loud expressions of joy and satisfaction, for it was a rare thing to hear any authentic intelligence from the western side of the Danube. The Austrians were as anxious to prevent communications to the Hungarians as from them.

Meanwhile I had been announced to Kossuth, who came himself, and led me into his cabinet, saying: "I am truly glad you have arrived. Cassimer Bathyanyi and I have been anxiously expecting you for some time." I directed my servant to fetch in my packages, which were of considerable bulk. "For heaven's sake," said Kossuth, "what have

you got there?" I opened my parcels, and displayed their contents before him. He was astonished and delighted at the amount and variety of the information they contained. I handed him the laurel wreath which had been sent to him from Vienna, and repeated the message with which I had been charged, word for word. He was deeply affected, and said it was his absolute intention to help the Viennese as soon as Buda should fall into our hands.

Alas! this intention was frustrated by the dark and designing Görgey, who, it may be safely said, had now deserted the cause of Hungary. The siege of Buda was not undertaken in earnest—it was only a pretext for delay. Had he really desired to master that fortress, he would have taken with him the heavy breaching artillery from Komorn, instead of light field-pieces, which could make no impression upon the strong walls; but he wished only for delay—it was everything to his design. Had the fortress fallen sooner, the army would have been at liberty to march at once upon Vienna, and he would have been incurably compromised with his good friends, the despots of Austria and Russia; whilst every day which he wasted before Buda, brought the Russian troops nearer and nearer to Hungary, rendering such a hazard impossible, and preparing for the shameful deed of Villagos, the convenient colour of necessity.

I delivered my despatches and receipts with the remainder of the money intrusted to me, and told the President of my interference with Lukaczy, of which he entirely approved. He made me narrate my adventures as a milliner from beginning to end, and seemed greatly amused at my travelling with Field-Marshal Welden. He laughed heartily at my dispute with the little prating man from Vienna; but what tickled him most, was the account of my walk with the Colonel upon the very walls and amongst the cannon of Buda. At length, when I had acquitted myself of my responsibilities, and given him all the information he cared to have, he begged me to go at once to Count Cassimir Bathyanyi, who, he said, would be greatly delighted to hear my intelligence.

I went at once, and found him in company with his beautiful and amiable wife, who, after having exchanged greetings with me, retired, and left her husband and me to speak undisturbed upon the important matters with which I was charged. I gave him my report, as I had to the President. He was much pleased, but a shade of doubt and melancholy remained upon his countenance. He then told me that it was now clearly ascertained that the Russian troops were marching towards Hungary, and said he thought it almost certain that we must succumb under the overwhelming force of the two empires. That it was quite possible the whole



quarrel had been misrepresented by the Camarilla to the Czar, and that if he knew the real merits of the case, he would at least refuse to interfere. "Now," said he, in conclusion, "I know no one more capable of stating the origin and grounds of the dispute than yourself. Will you undertake this mission, and save our fatherland?"

I replied that it was too late. The Russians were already upon our frontiers—probably had crossed them. Whatever the merits of our quarrel with Austria, or the object for which the Czar had sent his soldiers, it seemed to me self-evident that they would not return till they had tasted blood, and done something to justify, in appearance, the toils and expense of the campaign. I said that I had not so good an opinion either of myself or of the Czar, as to hope that I could so represent the justice of our cause, or that he could so feel it as to alter his design. He admitted that there was much force in my reasons, but still his heart seemed set upon making the attempt. I suggested to him that Thunis, who had just returned from Paris, after his unsuccessful mission to Breslau, should be employed on this expedition.

The reader will remember that Thunis had been associated with Szardahely and Fieldler on the occasion referred to. Bathyanyi caught at my suggestion, and the expedition actually took place afterwards. Thunis and Sirmey were associated in

the embassy. They were furnished with money, credentials, and letters of credit upon St. Petersburg; but the whole affair miscarried. Thunis was taken prisoner at Presburg, and condemned to twenty years imprisonment. Sirmey hearing of this, fled to Hamburg, where he altogether forgot his mission, and spent the greater part of the money intrusted to him by the Government. From Hamburg, he passed over to England, spent the rest of the money in stupid indulgences, and then vanished without leaving a trace of his existence behind. Having declined the mission to St. Petersburg, Bathyanyi asked me if I would undertake to convey a despatch of great importance to the — Embassy at Vienna. I consented gladly, for it was not the danger, but the hopelessness of the Russian expedition, which deterred me from undertaking it, I rejoiced to have an opportunity of pledging myself to an enterprise which, whilst it involved a much greater risk, gave some promise of utility to our cause.

I returned to Kossuth, and recounted to him the substance of my conversation with Bathyanyi. He agreed with me in the opinion that the mission to the Czar was a forlorn hope; but remarked that as Count Cassimir had set his heart upon it, it was as well that he should have his way. Kossuth expressed himself much pleased at my acceptance of the mission to Vienna, from which he augured

great advantage. He begged me to impress upon the — Embassy the great importance which he attached to the recognition of the independence of Hungary by a powerful constitutional kingdom; and to say that the advantage which he expected to derive from such a step, was the moral influence and political consideration which Hungary would gain by it, rather than any warlike assistance.

I told him that the Ambassador had already emphatically assured me that his Government was only waiting till the capital should be again in our possession, in order to send to us a plenipotentiary representative; and that on this account it would be useless for me to proceed to Vienna until Buda had fallen into our hands, as that would furnish me with a strong claim upon the Ambassador for the fulfilment of his promise. Kossuth saw the force of this, and said: "You must then go to Görgey's camp, and wait there till the fall of Buda. Tell him, from me, that every day the siege continues is a year in our history. Henzi is bombarding Pesth; the Russians are approaching us rapidly; the Liberal party in Vienna are holding out their arms to us; and the Ambassador of a mighty state is waiting to recognise our national independence. It is a distracting thought, that with so many reasons for action, we should be chained down by a comparatively unimportant fortress. Tell Görgey

that it must be taken at once, and this stumbling-block removed out of our career."

I was compelled to wait two whole days for Bathyanyi's despatches; at length I received them, when he took occasion to say: "You have done us great and essential services, Baroness, for which your country will not be ungrateful when it shall please God to crown our national struggle with success. Until then you must seek the meet reward of your labours and dangers in your own bosom, in the consciousness that you are promoting a just and sacred cause."

I answered that I felt highly honoured in being able to serve our great cause in any measure; that as for reward, I never looked for any other than that which the consciousness of acting uprightly always brings with it, and that I could say with perfect truth and simplicity, to me it would be sweet to die for my country. I bade him farewell, and proceeded to the *bureau* of Dushek, the Finance Minister, with whom I made the necessary arrangements for being supplied with money during my mission. He begged of me to find some means of conveying a letter to his wife, who was shut up in the fortress of Buda, and had heard nothing from him for a long time.

I may here remark, that since the declaration of independence, the titles of the Ministers had been

all changed : Kossuth was now styled Governor, and Dushek, Finance Minister. Having finished my business with Dushek, I went to take leave of Kossuth. He seemed to lay much stress upon the effect of my representation to the — Ambassador, and urged me to the most sleepless activity. He looked disturbed and anxious. I said : “ If it be possible to induce the Government of that nation to send us a Minister, I will do it.” When he replied : “ Succeed in that, and I will bow down before you as Hungary’s greatest benefactor !” He then bade me farewell with his usual beautiful and touching words. Alas ! it was for the last time. Oh ! had I known that I should hear that voice and look upon that noble brow no more, with what avarice would I have treasured up every tone and every look to comfort me in my long wanderings and friendless exile. But why do I say friendless ? the Great Being who preserved me through so many dangers, and enabled my weak frame to sustain so many hardships, is still with me ; He will not forsake me. He has seen fit to disappoint for the present our hopes of national freedom. It is, perhaps, that in His own way He may restore it to us more gloriously. He is the God of the free and the noble, not of the tyrant and the willing slave.

. This parting is a moment in my existence full of sorrow and regret. I cannot help thinking, that

had I remained with Kossuth, weak woman though I am, things would have taken a different course. But such retrospects are useless ; the splendid dream is fled, and we stand surrounded by the sad reality. Nor are we totally destitute of comfort ; if we have fallen, we have fallen with dignity, our cause unstained by a spot ; and though we weep for so many of our heroic kindred treacherously betrayed to death and to ruin, yet Hungary's greatest man still lives ; yes, though in exile, he lives, and may one day burst from his concealment to dazzle and confound his enemies, and to rekindle the hopes of his country.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Return to Pesth—Henzi begins to bombard Pesth—Stormy passage across the Danube—Condition of the population of Pesth—Fearful alarm—A deep sleeper—View of the bombardment—Condition of Pesth the next day—Residence in Buda—Visit to Görgey's head-quarters—Görgey not in earnest with the siege of Buda—Henzi sacrificed by the Austrian Government—Conduct of the Emperor to Henzi's widow and orphans—Sickness in the camp—Bad state of the hospitals—I undertake the superintendence of the hospitals—Improvement in the hospitals—Occupation of my time at Buda during the siege—Burning of the Royal Castle of Buda—Expulsion of the inhabitants.

HAVING thus unconsciously taken my last leave of Kossuth, I proceeded on my route for Pesth, where I arrived on the second day. Aulich had constructed a bridge of boats across the Danube, at a considerable distance from Pesth, and crossed the river with his whole army. He had also taken possession of the Blocksberg, which entirely commands the fortress. After this, Buda was of no strategic value whatever to the Austrians, and it was mere obstinate folly to continue its defence. Had the place offered any chance of successfully

withstanding a siege, our troops, would not have deserted it in the previous January. From Aulich's position on the Blocksberg every street in the fortress was plainly visible. A battery had been erected there, the fire of which greatly incommoded the garrison; in revenge for which, Henzi, the Commandant, began to bombard the city of Pesth.

Görgey had taken up a position on the Schwabenberg, which lies lower than the fortress, but which was convenient for the breaching batteries. Kmeti occupied the Water-town, and attempted to storm the aqueduct, which was defended by a body of Croats and a triple stockade. The Croats, however, fought bravely, and the fire from the fortress was so furious, that Kmeti was repulsed with loss, and obliged to retreat to Altofen, where he took up a position beyond the range of the enemy's guns.

Pesth was now entirely deserted by the troops, and as I had nothing more to occupy me there, I hired a small boat, for the purpose of crossing the Danube. The owner of the boat endeavoured to dissuade me from the attempt, for there was a strong wind, and the river was exceedingly rough. I insisted, however; and we pushed off. Our little vessel danced on the waves, and my poor servant was half dead with terror; which was greatly increased when, after accomplishing our voyage, we learned that we must immediately return again. Danielis, whose duty it was to provide quarters for



Görgey's corps, and upon whom I had relied to find me a lodging, had returned to Pesth ; and, as all here was in commotion, there was no help for it but to follow him across the stormy Danube. When my servant heard this, he shook in every limb, and absolutely refused to enter the little boat again. At length, after much persuasion, and reproaching him with his cowardice for refusing to go where a woman was not afraid to venture, he gave a reluctant consent, and crawled on board our little bark, where he held on with such a tenacious grasp, that I verily believe if he had happened to lay hold of the grapple, and the boat had upset, he would have clung to it with a desperate gripe, whilst it carried him to the bottom. He looked the very picture of terror. I could have laughed at his ludicrous despair had I not been too much frightened myself, for the waves ran exceedingly high, and our little vessel was whirled about amongst them like a feather. We accomplished our voyage in safety, however; and I was glad to find myself once more in my old hotel, with my friendly host and his kind family.

I gave Danielis Kossuth's letter to Lukaczy, concerning the prices of the summer clothing for the army, with a request that it might be delivered, for I had no longer any desire to attempt the passage of the Danube myself. I then walked out, to see the condition of the city. It was altogether vacant, and silent. The whole population had withdrawn, in

terror of Henzi's cannon and remorseless disposition. The more wealthy had removed to the neighbouring towns and villages, but the majority had betaken themselves to a grove called the Town-wood, which lay beyond the range of the fire from the fortress. Here they improvised a little town, which presented a most picturesque appearance. Long rows of earthen huts, built according to the respective ingenuity of their inhabitants, alternated with tents and booths of every conceivable shape and material. Waggons, cabs, omnibuses, old coaches, and common carts, were all turned into dwellings. The railroad ran close by, and furnished some excellent mansions in its trucks and carriages.

It looked like a disturbed dream, in which the fragments of past thoughts and feelings are seen together in one incongruous assemblage. The whole, as may be supposed, swarmed with people, some giving the last touch to their newly-erected dwellings; others just laying the foundations. Here was one man adorning his hut with green boughs, there a hardy, but lazy rogue, composing himself for the night upon a truss of straw, with the sky for a counterpane.

It was a lively and a cheerful scene, for the national good-humour of the Hungarians never for a moment deserted them. Some were cooking in the open air; others singing and dancing to such music as

they could make; whilst the merry laugh frequently rose above the hum of the busy thousands. All were anxious to oblige. The consciousness of a common evil had bound them together with an intimacy unknown before; for, under such circumstances, men feel instinctively that their best resource is in mutual help and sympathy.

Having visited and inspected this Tartar-looking town, I returned to my hotel, just as the night was falling. Colonel Danielis and I were the only guests in the house, and the landlord, with two waiters, the only other inhabitants. The hostess had fled to a place of safety with all her plate and valuables at the first threat of a bombardment. I was much fatigued, and retired early; it was the memorable night of May 8-9th. I cannot say how long I slept, when I was aroused by a noise such as I had never heard before. It seemed to come from every side, and even from beneath my feet. Its loudness was tremendous and stunning. It pressed upon the brain with a fulness and power which I can only compare to a fierce thunder-storm, mingling with the rumblings of an earthquake. I sprang from my bed in terror; everything I laid my hands on was trembling.

It was some time before I could collect my thoughts, but I had not listened long before I recognised the well-known sound of a fearful cannonade and bombardment, though I had never been

so near one before. I waked my maid, and sent her to arouse the other inmates of the house. The landlord and cellarmen were already awake, and running about the house like mad folks ; but Danielis, strange as it may appear, slept through it all, and it was only after knocking, till we had almost broken in the door, and screaming with all our might, that we succeeded in rousing him. Never did I hear of such a miraculous sleeper before.

We were all soon assembled in one of the lower rooms, but we knew not what to do. We feared to remain where we were, for several balls and bombs had already fallen close to the hotel, and we knew not the moment at which one might burst through its roof, and bury us in the ruins. On the other hand, to attempt to fly in the darkness of the night would be to rush into still greater danger, for the shot and shells were falling as thick as hail all over the vast city. We resolved to remain where we were, and to commit ourselves to the protection of God, whose will concerning us would be fulfilled in spite of any efforts we could make to evade it.

Having taken our resolution, we felt much more calm ; we even felt some curiosity to witness the terrible sight. I opened the window and looked out. The night was dark as ebony, except where the raging fortress was hurling destruction upon the city. There the sight was fearfully grand. The

long line of the walls was fitfully illuminated by the flashes from the artillery, the red light of which was reflected from the thick volumes of smoke which hung over the place, and cast a lurid glare upon the troubled waters of the Danube, whilst the thundering tumult of the explosions filled the whole atmosphere with a din which was indescribably terrible, and which seemed to increase every moment, augmented by the falling of houses, which produced a harsh crashing accompaniment to the awful uproar. We could plainly see the bombs traversing the intervening space like comets with their long fiery trains ; some burst in the air, scattering a shower of fire all round ; others buried themselves in the buildings, where their sharp and near explosion was plainly discernible. In a short time the city was on fire in several places. The flames from the splendid hall of the Hungarian Diet, the principal theatre, the Post-office, the Queen of England Hotel, and a multitude of private dwellings, rose high above the edifices, adding to the grandeur and terror of the scene ; before morning they were reduced to ashes.

It is a remarkable fact that all the private houses destroyed by this useless and cruel bombardment were the property of persons devoted to Austria. I do not remember one exception. It seemed as if Providence would punish the party capable of such wilful and gratuitous crime. It was indeed a night of anxiety and dread, yet we remained fixed in con-

templating the tremendous sight, as by some powerful fascination. As yet the hotel in which we were had escaped, but we saw a bomb strike a house in our immediate neighbourhood, which it set on fire instantly; it was a bookseller's warehouse, and was burned to the ground.

At length we observed the grey dawn of morning, and our spirits rose with the hope of a near escape. The day advanced slowly and serenely, whilst the passions of men were filling the earth with horror and destruction. The bombardment still continued, nor was there the slightest remission of its fury till about nine o'clock in the morning, when it suddenly ceased. The stillness which succeeded was a source of exquisite pleasure. We knew that the cannonade might recommence in a moment, and yet we felt as if all danger was past, so great was the relief we experienced from the indescribable hubbub which had continued all night.

Danielis went forth to endeavour to obtain a carriage, in which we might proceed to the camp, at the other side of the river; he remained absent so long that we thought some accident must have befallen him, and my impatience at last mastering my terror, I went out into the streets; I felt a curiosity also to see the effects of the bombardment upon the city. I went into Waitzen Street, and from thence to the square of the theatre; I then

turned down Bridge Street, and came upon the banks of the Danube, from whence I could see the black and murderous cannon which had caused all the destruction around me. It was a pitiable scene, for, though human life had not been destroyed, yet how much that gives to life its chief charm, and supplies its tenderest associations, was here in ruins! Houses in heaps on every side, and others threatening every moment to fall. The front walls of many had given way, and laid bare all the apartments, which presented a melancholy and affecting picture, furnished as they were with all the little conveniences and contrivances of domestic life. The terrified people had not had time to remove anything from their dwellings, except the most portable and necessary articles. There lay the bed with the clothes in the very position in which they had been thrown by some panic-stricken individual in his haste to escape from the deadly tempest, whilst the wind waved the curtains to and fro as if rejoicing in this invasion of domestic privacy.

In one place might be seen the cradle from which the mother had hastily snatched her infant, and in another the old arm-chair from which some aged invalid had been removed by the strong arms of filial affection.

The streets were covered with all kinds of furniture, sofas, chairs, tables, mirrors, pictures, and

books scattered in every direction, and broken in pieces by the explosion of the bombs ; whilst various articles of human clothing hung upon the joists and timbers which protruded from the ruined houses, giving to the whole an appearance of unspeakable desolation.

A great number of fires had broken out towards morning, and now might be seen many of the poor people venturing back, and trying to extinguish the flames, or to save the remnants of their property from what threatened to be a general conflagration.

I could not wish for those who seek military renown a more emphatic or salutary lesson on the horrors and wickedness of war than that which they might have learned from the appearance of Pesth after this cruel, unnecessary, and useless bombardment, by which so many thousands of inoffensive citizens were at once reduced to poverty and deprived of their homes.

Whilst proceeding to that part of the shore from which I could have a full view of the fortress, I met a man who told me that it would be instant death to show myself, as the garrison fired at every individual whom they could see, and that several had been already shot. I returned, therefore, to my hotel ; and soon after Danielis arrived with a carriage and four horses to transport us all to the Buda side of the Danube, at a safe distance from the



cannon of the fortress. He had been to the Town-wood, and borrowed the carriage and horses from some acquaintances.

We arrived at the river-side, and having sent back our equipage, embarked in a small boat. The wind had considerably fallen, and we crossed in perfect safety. I hired apartments in a hotel called the Emperor's Bath. It was a splendid and convenient house, which derived its name from a medicinal spring connected with it. Here I remained perfectly undisturbed for two days; but on the third a bomb fell into the magnificent dining-saloon of the hotel, and shattered to pieces the beautiful marble columns which sustained the ceiling. I took this as a timely warning, and immediately removed to fresh lodgings, in the suburb of Neustift.

As soon as I had settled myself here, I determined to pay a visit to Görgey, at his head-quarters. It was a difficult and toilsome journey, for I was obliged to take a path which led through the mountains; but after two hours of scrambling and climbing, I at last reached the camp. Görgey received me with a great show of politeness; but it was easy to see that it was assumed, and that my presence at his head-quarters was anything but pleasant to him.

I mentioned Kossuth's urgent entreaty that the siege of Buda might be terminated as speedily as

possible, and enumerated all the reasons which Kossuth had mentioned, for his desire that the army should be differently employed. Görgey seemed to concur in everything I stated, and said that the fortress should be ours within as short a period as possible. But there was a carelessness and inattention in his manner, which persuaded me that he was not in earnest; and everything I saw and heard subsequently, confirmed me in that opinion. I could see, though only a woman, that his batteries were not mounted with heavy cannon, fit to breach the thick walls of the fortress; and though he knew perfectly well that the capture of Buda was an essential condition to the recognition of our national independence by one of the most powerful states in the world, yet was he mean enough to misrepresent the message which I had brought him, by saying in a sarcastic manner to the officers of his staff, that it was necessary to capture the fortress with the utmost speed, for Kossuth was anxious to take up his residence as Governor in the Royal Castle!

It is easy to conceive how such observations and inuendos would nourish the spirit of jealousy and dislike against Kossuth, which Görgey had so carefully instilled into their minds. But the man capable of such paltry devices and littleness could never have become a hero, whatever might have been his other merits. Jealousy of another's genius,

and envy at well-earned renown, indicate an essential weakness, and want of equilibrium, between the faculties of him who is the subject of such passions : in short, a defect in his moral nature, which must disqualify him for rank amongst the higher orders of intellect, and stamp with imperfection everything which he may accomplish.

All Görgey's operations before Buda were feeble and spiritless. His commands were given in a cold, perfunctory manner, and executed mechanically, as if the result was of no importance. Well might Henzi have thought himself able to defend the place from the attacks of such an enemy, until relieved by an Imperial army, which he expected would appear every day, and which the Austrian Government had pledged itself to send to his rescue.

This was a promise, however, which that Government never intended to fulfil. Henzi was shamefully and wilfully sacrificed, for the purpose of detaining our army before the walls of Buda, that the Austrian army might gain time to recover itself from its repeated defeats and demoralization, and be prepared to defend Vienna from the Hungarians. I repeat that the Imperial Government had no intention of coming to the relief of the unfortunate Henzi, that he was placed in this fortress with his garrison merely for the purpose of retarding our victorious progress. Every one knew that it was impossible to defend the place for any length of

time, and Henzi had received orders to defend it to the last man. Thus did the Austrian Camarilla trifle with the lives even of their own most devoted followers. How then could their enemies expect humane or honourable treatment at their hands? The unhappy Commandant and his men were "expended," like military stores: they had answered their purpose, and were thought of no more. No, I am unjust to the magnanimous Emperor of Austria, who, when Henzi fell, sent to his widow, with her five young children, the princely sum of a thousand florins, that is, one hundred pounds, to console her for her loss.

The discipline in Görgey's corps was good, but the long encampment in the open air, without sufficient canvas or equipage, had begun to tell severely upon the troops, great numbers of whom were ill, and the sickness was daily extending. I saw several sick men lying about in various parts of the camp in the open air, and upon inquiring why they were not in the hospital, they told me that it was in such a miserable and disgusting state, that they preferred taking their chance where they could at least breathe the pure air. I went to the hospital immediately, and as the poor men had truly said, found everything in an intolerable state of filth, disorder, and inefficiency. The diet of the patients was bad in itself, and was utterly spoiled in the cooking, and the poor fellows might cry and rave

in the anguish of fever for hours without any one coming near them. Here I saw that my labours would be of great benefit; I asked the Governor of the hospital why things had been allowed to fall into such a frightful state of disorder. He answered that the Government Commissioner, Lukaczy, had not allowed sufficient linen for bandages, nor money to purchase food and medicine. I told him to go at once to Colonel Danielis, who would advance all that was necessary to prevent our poor countrymen from dying of mere neglect, and that meanwhile I would seek to establish something like order in the hospital. He consented willingly, and I entered the kitchen, where I found four old invalids quite drunk, who were charged with the preparation of the patient's food. I immediately sent them about their business, and installed in their place four respectable women from the neighbourhood, whom I instructed in the best method of cooking and washing for the sick. I then had the rooms cleansed and scoured, and all the beds properly arranged, which gave an air of comfort to the place that was quite cheering to the poor suffering inmates, and was the means of speedily restoring to our ranks many a bold heart and stout arm.

Having done all that was possible here, I went to the second hospital in Altofen, where I made similar changes and arrangements; and lest matters should again fall into their former miserable

state, I made it my duty to visit and inspect both hospitals every day, and had the satisfaction of seeing that my cares were richly rewarded by a growing improvement in both establishments. Many of the patients were Austrians, who were in want of almost everything. I took care to see them provided with clothing, and other necessaries, not forgetting a little money, to procure those slight indulgences which are so grateful to a convalescent.

The reader will suppose that I did not meanwhile forget our own poor fellows. Every day I came to them, accompanied by my servant, who carried a large basket laden with little delicacies and luxuries which I shared amongst them; and never were children more delighted at having the choice of a confectioner's shop, than were the invalids when I made my appearance. Every one of them who could walk hastened to meet me, and welcome me with the most affecting cordiality. The influence I began to acquire over them was astonishing, I believe there was not one amongst them who would not have willingly risked his life to save me from danger or insult. A marked change took place in their manners also; from being rude and boisterous, they became gentle and obliging one to another; and as for myself, they treated me with a species of reverential respect. I had, on the whole, the joy of knowing that, by my quiet ministry in these abodes of suffering, I had been enabled to benefit many a

fellow-creature, both in mind and body, and whilst doing so, to render no mean service to my country.

On the third day, the breaching batteries on the Schwabenberg opened their fire, which Henzi not only answered, but began to throw bombs into the open suburb, called the Water-town, where the Hungarian banner had been erected. Many houses were reduced to ashes in consequence, and on the whole, Buda suffered nearly as much as Pesth. At last the heavy cannon arrived from Komorn. The lines were drawn closer to the fortress, and the battering of the walls began in right earnest.

My time was now occupied each day, as follows: Every morning I wrote a long letter to Kossuth, which I despatched by the daily courier to Debreczin, giving a minute and accurate report of all that had taken place the day before. I then visited the hospitals, and generally after dinner paid a visit to Görgey's head-quarters, who observed towards me the most unvarying politeness. He lodged on the Schwabenberg, in a villa, which was placed at an altitude considerably higher than that of the batteries. He had two telescopes fixed on stands, by means of which the whole fortress could be plainly seen. Old Henzi we frequently saw walking on the walls, and clearly distinguishable by his three-cocked hat and green plume. In the evening I returned to my lodgings by the light of the watch-fires, which burned cheerful in every

### 334 BURNING OF THE ROYAL CASTLE AT BUDA.

direction, whilst the hoarse, but not unpleasing, voice of the soldier floated far upon the air, in the burden of some warlike song; and the stars sent down their still radiance upon the whole, as if it were a scene of peace and brotherly fellowship. Indeed, one might have easily deluded oneself into the belief that it was some joyous festival, did not the occasional roar of cannon from the fortress, sending its fiery messengers streaming like blood-red meteors across the Danube, or into the suburbs of Buda, instantly recal the fact that all these men were collected together, and all these preparations made for mutual destruction and desolation. These shots were generally answered by our batteries, and frequently issued in a furious mutual cannonade.

Henzi held out with obstinate firmness; but the effects of our fire soon became visible from the Hungarian camp. Magazines of powder in the fortress began to explode from time to time; and on the 13th the Royal Castle, a lofty and splendid building within the walls, was discovered to be on fire. This was much regretted by the besiegers, as the building was full of master-pieces of art, and archives of the highest historical interest; but regret was unavailing, everything was sacrificed to the cruel exigencies of war. The flames rose high in the air, and illuminated the whole district to a great distance all round. The beautiful copper roof crackled and mingled with the flames in a thousand



brilliant colours. The fire raged for several days, until the whole edifice, upon which so much time and wealth had been expended, was reduced to a black and melancholy heap of ruins. The garrison could do nothing to arrest the conflagration, for Aulich's cannon, which had kindled it, played incessantly round the devoted pile.

On the 14th, the inhabitants of Buda began to leave it. Every day the gates were opened, to give egress to hundreds of men, women, and children, who were beginning to be a burden on the garrison. It was a mournful thing to see these wretched people depart in search of some refuge for themselves and their helpless little ones. Such things as they could in their hurry collect together, they carried on their backs, for all other means of conveyance was out of the question. Amongst them, I found Dushek's wife, for whom I had a letter from her husband, which I delivered to her. She made great complaints of the hardships and loss she had suffered; but I could not pity her, for, although she herself might have been innocent, I felt deeply persuaded that her husband was a traitor to our cause, and would amply indemnify himself for any damage she might have sustained.